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THE LIFE OF  
**WILLIAM LORD RUSSELL;**

WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE TIMES IN  
WHICH HE LIVED.

By LORD JOHN RUSSELL.

Quarto.—Pp. 329.—Price 1*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.*

[The name of Russell is dear to liberty, and to the people of England; and the Life of one of its most illustrious members, by a living descendant, claims in an especial manner the attention of the literary and political world. Of the style and interest of the work, our readers will be able to form their own opinion: ours is expressed by the extent of the extracts.]

THE RUSSELL FAMILY.

**T**HE family of Russell seems to have been long in possession of a small landed property in Dorsetshire. In 1221, John Russell was constable of Corfe Castle. William Russell, in 1284, obtained a charter for a market at his manor of Kington-Russell. In the first year of Edward the Second, he was returned to parliament one of the knights for the county of Southampton. Sir John Russell, the lineal descendant of William, was Speaker of the House of Commons in the second and tenth years of the reign of Henry VI. His son, John Russell, lived at Barwick, about four miles from Bridport.\* A fortunate occurrence opened the way to wealth and honour.

In the twenty-first year of the reign of Henry VII. Philip archduke of Austria, and in right of his wife king of Castile, having encountered a violent storm on his passage from Flanders to Spain, was obliged to put into Weymouth. Sir Thomas Trenchard, who lived near the port, entertained him in the best manner he was able, till he could acquaint the king with his arrival. In the meantime he sent for Mr. Russell, who had travelled abroad, and was acquainted with foreign languages. The

archduke was so much pleased with Mr. Russell, that he took him with him to court, and recommended him warmly to the king. He was immediately made one of the gentlemen of the privy-chamber. He afterwards attended Henry VIII. in his expedition in France, and was present at the taking of Therouenne and Tournay. He obtained for his services certain lands in Tournay. When the place was afterwards given up, the orders from the king to deliver it into the hands of the French were directed to him. In 1522, he was knighted by the Earl of Surrey for his services at the taking of Morlaix in Bretagne, and was created Lord Russell in 1539.

THE FATHER OF THE MARTYR.

He was at first Master of the Horse to the Parliament, and was greatly instrumental in gaining the battle of Edgehill, where he commanded the reserve.

But, in 1643, being desirous of peace, he agreed with the Earl of Essex, the Earl of Clare, and the Earl of Holland, to make an effort for that purpose. They obtained a vote of the House of Lords, desiring a conference with the Commons, and declaring they were resolved to send propositions to the king. But the Commons refused to agree to their propositions; and such tumults were raised, that they did not consider it safe to remain in London. Upon this, the Earls of Bedford and Holland went to the king's garrison at Hollingford, but it was some time before they were allowed to go to Oxford. The Earl of Bedford then joined the army, and fought in the king's regiment of horse at the battle of Newbury. Being disgusted, however, with the treatment he received at court, he returned with Lord Clare to the Earl of Essex, on Christmas-day, 1643, having been only four months with the king's army. He was ordered into custody by the Parliament, and his estate sequestered. The estate was restored to him, however, after a few months, when the success of the Parliament had put them in good humour. He never afterwards sat in the Long Parliament, or concurred in

\* Dugdale's Baronage, v. ii. p. 227.

any of their councils. He assisted in the conferences previous to the Restoration, and at the coronation of Charles II. bore St. Edward's sceptre.

In early life, he formed an attachment to Lady Anne Carr, daughter of the Countess of Somerset, so well known in history for her participation in the infamous murder of Sir Thomas Overbury.

The daughter, it is said, never heard of her mother's crime till she read of it by chance in a pamphlet, and was then so affected with horror, that she fell down, and was found senseless with the book open before her. But, though the guilt of her mother was not likely to influence her conduct in any other way than by inspiring her with a more serious attention to the duties of morality, the Earl of Bedford, with a natural feeling, opposed their union; and it was said, that his son had leave and liberty to choose in any family but that. But, as a strong mutual attachment subsisted, and Lord Somerset made great sacrifices to promote the marriage, every obstacle was finally vanquished; and Lord Russell, in the summer of 1637, received the hand of Lady Anne Carr. By her he had seven sons, and three daughters.

#### PARLIAMENTARY OPPOSITION.

A few days before the declaration of war, March 15, 1672, the king published an indulgence to dissenters and popish recusants, dispensing with the penal laws in force against them. He thought that having already secured the church party,\* who, with a servility not unusual to them, supported the views of the court, he should by this step gain the dissenters; but, so contrary to his hopes was the event, that the dissenters publicly desired their interests might not be considered by the House of Commons. An address was voted, declaring that penal statutes, in matters ecclesiastical, cannot be suspended but by act of Parliament. Clifford attacked this vote violently in the House of Lords; but Shaftesbury, who had been made chancellor expressly to affix the great seal to the declaration, spoke in favour of the Commons†: and the king, after saying, in his first speech, "I tell you plainly, gentlemen, I mean to stick to my declaration," was obliged, a few days after, to cancel

\* Echard.

† It was during this debate, that the Duke of York, alluding to Shaftesbury, is reported to have said, "Brother, what a rogue you have of a lord-chancellor. To which Charles replied, "Brother, what a fool you have of a lord-treasurer."

it. Nor was this all: the Test Act was the offspring of the jealousy he had awakened; and it was no sooner carried into a law, than the Duke and Clifford, the two firmest pillars of prerogative, were removed from their offices.

From this time we may date the origin of the party to which Lord Russell henceforward belonged. There are persons who think the name of party implies blame; who, whilst they consider it natural and laudable that men should combine for any other object of business or pleasure, and whilst they are lavish in bestowing their confidence on government, which must in its nature be a party, find something immoral and pernicious in every union of those who join together to save their country from unnecessary burdens or illegal oppression. To such persons Lord Russell's conduct must appear indefensible.

The individuals who made themselves most conspicuous amongst the country party, were Lord Russell, Lord Cavendish, Sir W. Coventry, Col. Birch, Mr. Powle, and Mr. Littleton. Of the first, the subject of this work, Burnet says: "Lord Russell was a man of great candour, and of a general reputation; universally beloved and trusted; of a generous and obliging temper. He had given such proofs of an undaunted courage, and of an unshaken firmness, that I never knew any man have so entire a credit in the nation as he had. He quickly got out of some of the disorders into which the court had drawn him; and ever after that, his life was unblemished in all respects. He had, from his first education, an inclination to favour the non-conformists, and wished the laws could have been made easier to them, or they more pliant to the law. He was a slow man, and of little discourse; but he had a true judgment, when he considered things at his own leisure: his understanding was not defective; but his virtues were so eminent, that they would have more than balanced real defects, if any had been found in the other." Lord Cavendish, an intimate friend of Lord Russell, had more quickness and talent, and was a very accomplished scholar. He maintained, through a long life, an ardent love of freedom, of which he gave proofs on many occasions. Sir W. Coventry was the model of a country gentleman, open, honest, and sensible, not swayed either by ambition or animosity. Col. Birch spoke with force and vehemence, and was an excellent debater for a popular assembly, though his language retained somewhat



somewhat of the roughness of his early habits. Before the civil war, he had been a carrier. Powle was very learned in parliamentary forms; and Littleton had, more than any other person of his time, that command of historical knowledge, and that skill in argument, which are necessary to form an able speaker of the present day.

The opposition at first proceeded in a very cautious manner. They agreed to vote a subsidy of 600,000*l.* for eighteen months, which was increased to 1,200,000*l.* by the treachery of Lee and Garroway, two of their party. And when, at the end of the session, a petition of grievances was moved, it touched only on some irregular taxation, and some abuses in the conduct of the army, without mentioning the war, the ministry, or the shutting-up of the Exchequer. The opposition reaped the benefit of their moderation. During the recess, the misfortunes of the war made it very unpopular; trade suffered, and the army became both expensive and oppressive. The consequence was, that when parliament met, and the king asked for fresh grants of money, a long debate took place; a cry of grievances came from every side of the house; the iniquity of the war, the sufferings of commerce, the danger of religion, were ably urged; and the supplies were finally refused. Shortly after, the Commons addressed the king for the second time, to put a stop to the Duke of York's marriage, which had not yet been consummated; voted the standing army a grievance; and were going to attack the Duke of Lauderdale, and other evil counsellors, when the king suddenly prorogued them.

The parliament met on the 7th January, 1674; and no time was lost in making it resound with the grievances of the nation. On the 22d, it was resolved to proceed to the redress of grievances, and to the removal of evil counsellors. An address was also voted to the king, desiring the militia might be ready to be called out in twenty-four hours, to protect the country from popery; to which request his Majesty graciously acceded. On this day Lord Russell made his first speech. From the short notes of it which have been preserved, it appears that he complained of the shutting-up of the Exchequer, and the attack on the Smyrna fleet. He accused the ministers of receiving pensions from France; but declared that he wished not their ruin, but our security. The Commons next resumed the affairs of the Duke of Lauder-

dale; and, it having been attested by four members, that he had declared that the king's edicts were equal to the laws, and ought to be obeyed in the first place, an address was carried, to remove him from his Majesty's presence and councils for ever. After a long debate, in which Lord Russell took a part, a similar address was voted against the Duke of Buckingham, who had proposed the second alliance with France, and had obtained a pension from France for the Countess of Shrewsbury.

#### WHIGS AND TORIES.

The origin of these names is well known: that of the parties took its rise from the new circumstances of the country. The Whigs formed a popular party, far less enthusiastic in their religious tenets, and less divided in their political views, than that which opposed Charles the First. With the exception perhaps of Sydney, who was not in parliament, none of them wished for any thing more than a regular execution of our ancient constitutional laws, government by parliament, and trial by jury. The hereditary succession of the crown was, in their eyes, a rule for the benefit of the people, and not a dispensation of Providence, for the advantage of a single family. If at any time, therefore, the observance of the rule became dangerous to the welfare of the community, the legislature was, in their opinion, competent to consider whether that danger was greater than the inconvenience of deviating from the established course.

In carrying on the ordinary government of the country, their chief aim and endeavour was, to preserve unimpaired the rights and liberties of the people. If, to obtain these objects, they sometimes asked for the confirmation of privileges which were doubtful, and even the establishment of some that were new, these were only natural steps in the progress of civilization. For the same rights which, fenced by uncertain boundaries, are, in barbarous times, the occasion of discord and civil war, become, when accurately defined, the safeguard of national tranquillity. A law, to be really efficient, must not only be good in itself, but must be easy of execution, and unassailable on every side. A statute enacting the liberty of the press would be of no use, if the administration were not pure; the responsibility of ministers would be a phantom, if the king could grant a pardon previous to impeachment. The Act of Magna Charta itself was frequently violated, and became the cause of the

most destructive wars. But, its purpose having been completed by the Act of Habeas Corpus, and the Bill of Rights, personal liberty and public tranquillity are undisturbed. To the necessity which exists of thus filling up the outline sketched by rude hands, we must attribute many of the pretensions which Mr. Hume has pointed out as innovations. The Whigs, it must be owned, had generally a leaning towards the dissenters. Nor did this arise only from the love of freedom remarkable in those sectaries. It was connected with a laudable desire for toleration to every sect but one, which was active in its endeavours to alter the government.

The Tories, on the other hand, were attached to the laws as well as the Whigs, but were for leaving entirely to the king, whether or not they should be executed. They considered the crown as a sacred and unalienable inheritance. They held, that the rights of the successor to the throne were paramount and indefeasible; and, as the Whigs wished to allow liberty, as far as could be consistent with monarchy, the Tories desired to give to monarchy every thing that was compatible with safety. Their attachment to the established religion alone, was stronger than to the established government. At the time of which we are treating, these two principles were perfectly consistent. Whilst the Tories professed that they never would abandon the church, the church declared that no circumstance whatever could alter their allegiance to the king.

It must not be supposed, however, that the Tories, though loud in their professions of unlimited submission, ever seriously meant that they would not resist in an extreme case. They sincerely venerated the laws, and dreaded the subversion of our ancient constitution. Thus, whilst they spoke with abhorrence of resistance to their sovereign, their conduct had a direct tendency to produce it. For, their silent acquiescence in acts of petty tyranny, encouraged the king to proceed to still greater outrages, till at last no remedy was to be found but in a revolution.

The Whigs, on the other hand, by their persevering opposition, acted in a manner to prevent the necessity of the resistance of which they spoke so much.

These parties, it must be owned, have their foundations deep in the opinions of the country. As long as there is a body of men in this country, attached to

church and king more than to the constitution, the Tory party will subsist; and, as long as there is a large portion of the people who consider monarchy only as the best protection for liberty, the Whig party will flourish.

#### BARILLON.

We have now come to the period at which it is said that the chief members of opposition were bribed by the French court. In the dispatches of Barillon, which have been published, there is an account of the sums given to each person. In looking over these lists, which have been so triumphantly brought forward by Dalrymple, the first doubt which arises, respects the integrity of Barillon. When we see the characters of Sydney and of Hampden, whose names will always live in the hearts of Englishmen, depreciated upon the authority of a French minister, we naturally enquire whether the witness has any interest in concealing the truth, and whether his character stands equally high with that of the English patriots. In order to answer the first question, we must recollect, that the diplomatic agents of Louis were permitted, nay, almost authorised, to pay themselves out of the money entrusted to their care.

But, if such peculation was ever permitted, it was in no case more likely to happen than in that of Barillon. He had great interest in representing to his master that the measures of opposition were guided by him. He saw them resolved to refuse the supplies; and nothing was more easy than to say, that their conduct was the result of his own intrigues. His connections with the popular party were necessarily secret, and he might put the money in his own pocket, without any fear of detection.

Some passages in Madame de Sevigné's letters, give a strong colour to these suspicions. By the first of these, he appears to have had a share in the subsidies granted to Charles. In April, 1672,\* Madame de Sevigné writes, "Barillon a fait ici un grand séjour; il s'en va, &c. son emploi est admirable cette année: il mangera cinquante mille francs, mais il sait bien, ou les prendre." After his final return, she says, "Monsieur de Barillon est riche,"† &c.

The first person who seems to have received money from Barillon for members of parliament, is Coleman. Sir John Dalrymple notices this, and refers us to the "Journals of the House of Commons,

\* 22d April, 1672.

† 21st March, 1689.



mons, Nov. 7th, 1678, where Coleman confesses that he got money from Barillon, to be distributed in the House of Commons." Any one would suppose, from this passage, that Coleman had so distributed the money. But, strange to say, it appears, from the journals, that Coleman, though he received money, and the members of parliament to whom it was to be distributed were pointed out, affirms that he did not distribute it.

This will be seen by the following extract from the journals of the House of Commons, 7th Nov. 1678.

"Mr. Coleman says, that he received, in the last session, of Monsieur Barillon, two thousand five hundred pounds, which he entrusted him with, to distribute to members of the House of Commons, to prevent a rupture between the two crowns; and that accordingly he had prepared guineas to distribute amongst them, but that he gave none to any member of parliament, but applied them to his own use:

"That the French ambassador demanded an account of the two thousand five hundred pounds; and that he replied, he had distributed it to members of the House of Commons, but desired to be excused as to their names:

"That, about the time of the treaty with Monsieur Barillon on this occasion, Monsieur Barillon proposed several members to whom money might be given:

"That, to some of them the said Mr. Coleman promised to give it; and told Monsieur Barillon he had done accordingly."

Notwithstanding this confession, some persons may believe that the money was distributed by Coleman, and that he was afraid to own it before the House of Commons. But, if he had given it to members of the opposition, who were at that time the most violent in prosecuting him, it is strange, that before his death, at least, he should not have revealed a secret so fatal to them.

Subjoined are the two lists of Barillon. Courtin's, which is dated in one part of Sir J. Dalrymple, 15th May,\* and, in another place, 15th July,† 1677, concerns only Lord Berkshire, here called Lord Barker, and six others, not members of opposition.

Barillon, from 22d December, 1678, to 14th December, 1679.

	Guineas.
Duke of Buckingham . . .	1000
Mr. Sydney . . .	500

\* Dal. App. 314.

† Ibid. 129.

	Guineas.
Bulstrode, at Brussels . . .	400
Beber . . .	500
Lyttleton . . .	500
Powle . . .	500
Harbord . . .	500

December 5th, 1680.

	Guineas.
William Harbord . . .	500
Mr. Hamden . . .	500
Col. Titus . . .	500
Hermesbrand (Armstrong) . . .	500
Bennett (once Secretary to Prince Rupert, afterwards to Shaftesbury) . . .	300
Hotham . . .	300
Hicdal . . .	300
Garoway . . .	300
Francland . . .	300
Compton . . .	300
Harley . . .	300
Sacheverel . . .	300
Foley . . .	300
Bide . . .	300
Algernon Sydney . . .	500
Herbert . . .	500
Baber . . .	500
Hil . . .	500
Boscawen . . .	500
Du Cross (Envoy from the Duke of Holstein) . . .	150
Le Pin (one of Lord Sunderland's clerks) . . .	150

LUCY WALTERS.

A rumour was spread with great industry, at this time, which probably owed its origin to Lord Shaftesbury. It was said that a black box was in the possession of Sir Gilbert Gerrard, containing a contract of marriage between the King and Lucy Walters, mother of the Duke of Monmouth. Sir Gilbert Gerrard, when examined before the Council, denied any knowledge of such a box, and the King soon after published a declaration that he never was married to Mrs. Barlow, alias Walters, nor to any other woman but the Queen.

DUKE OF YORK.

The Whig party seems now to have been determined to break with the Duke of York beyond the possibility of return. On the 16th of June, Lord Shaftesbury came to the grand jury at Westminster, accompanied by several Lords and Commoners, and indicted the Duke as a popish recusant. The bill was attested by himself, Lord Huntingdon, Lord Russell, Lord Cavendish, Lord Grey, Lord Brandon Gerrard, and many Commoners, amongst whom occur the names of John Trenchard, and Thomas Thynne, esqs. The chief-justice, fearing the consequences of this step, dismissed the grand jury before they had finished their presentments. But, though

though the proceeding went no further in Westminster Hall, it had a very general effect on the minds of the people, and contributed to excite the passions of the different parties in the nation.

#### MONMOUTH.

In the month of August this year, the Duke of Monmouth made the progress in the west which has been celebrated by Dryden. He first visited Mr. Thynne, at Longleat, and from thence proceeded, from one friend's house to another, to Exeter. He was received every-where with joyful acclamations; and at Exeter, a band of near a thousand young men, dressed in linen waistcoats and drawers, came out to meet him.

He seems to have been at this time set up by Shaftesbury, and countenanced by the Whigs as a Pretender to the throne, with more confidence than ever. But, besides the illegitimacy of his birth, he wanted the qualities fit for a leader. He was deficient in resolution; without which no man can make a figure in public life. His chief attraction with the people, was the beauty of his countenance, and the grace of his manner.

#### POPERY.

On the 26th October, Dangerfield was brought to the bar, and gave an account of the meal-tub plot. After this, which is represented as a piece of tactics used to impress the house with an idea that the plot was still in vigour amongst the catholics, Lord Russell rose and said,—“Mr. Speaker. Sir: seeing, by God's providence, and his majesty's favour, we are here assembled to consult and advise about the great affairs of the kingdom, I humbly conceive it will become us to begin first with that which is of most consequence to our king and country, and to take into consideration how to save the main, before we spend any time about particulars. Sir, I am of opinion, that the life of our king, the safety of our country and protestant religion, are in great danger from popery; and, that either this parliament must suppress the power and growth of popery, or else that popery will soon destroy, not only parliament, but all that is near and dear to us. And, therefore, I humbly move that we may resolve to take into consideration, in the first place, how to suppress popery, and to prevent a popish successor; without which, all our endeavours about other matters will not signify any thing, and therefore this justly challengeth the precedency.”

The motion was seconded by Sir H. Capel, and supported by Sir F. Warrington, and Mr. Montague, after which it was resolved *nem. con.* “That it is the opinion of this house, that they ought to proceed effectually to suppress popery, and prevent a popish successor.”

On the 2d November, Lord Russell seconded a motion to draw up a bill to disable James Duke of York from inheriting the imperial crown of this realm.”

The bill passed the Commons, and Lord Russell was ordered to carry it up to the House of Lords for their concurrence. He did so four days afterwards. We are told, in the Life of James, that many members wished the bill to be kept back for a short time longer, not thinking the Lords sufficiently prepared; but that Lord Russell, carried on by his exceeding ardour on this occasion, and having the bill in his hand, ran away with it, in spite of all opposition. Finding they could not withhold him, many members accompanied him; and, when it was delivered, gave a mighty shout.

In the debate on the first reading, Lord Essex and Lord Shaftesbury were the chief speakers for it, and Lord Halifax against it. The king was present all the time; and the whole House of Commons, having adjourned their proceedings expressly for this purpose, attended the debate. On a division, the bill was lost, 63 being against it, and only 30 for it. The Lord Sunderland, to the great surprise and displeasure of the king, appeared in the minority. The great majority on this occasion is not difficult to account for. Besides the bishops, whose principles and interest were both against the bill, there were a number of lords, either attracted by the distinctions and swayed by the pleasures of the court, or unable to withstand the personal canvass of the king. In the debate, the party against the exclusion derived great advantage from the ready wit and ingenious eloquence of Lord Halifax. For, unhappily, this very able man, though pursuing the same objects as Lord Essex and Lord Shaftesbury, had so great a respect for his own wisdom, that he preferred leaving our religion and liberty without any security, to accepting that which was devised by the judgment of his political friends.

The loss of the exclusion bill occasioned, as might have been expected, great indignation in the Commons. Lord Russell is said to have exclaimed, with  
a violence



a violence unusual to his nature, "If my own father had been one of the sixty-four, I should have voted him an enemy to the king and kingdom." Every one acquainted with him, knew that he was the last man in the country capable of acting with such barbarous patriotism.

The resentment of the Commons appeared in a signal manner, on a debate upon the king's message, asking supplies for the support of Tangier. Sir William Jones, after some observations on the use that had been made of Tangier as a nursery for popish soldiers, broadly argued, that it would be imprudent in the House to grant any money to the crown, till they should be satisfied that it would not be employed to the destruction of the protestant religion. He was supported by Lord Russell, who declared that, whenever the king should free the House from the danger of a popish successor, and remove from his council and places of trust all those that were for the Duke's interest, he should be ready to give all he had in the world; but, till then, a vote of money would only have the effect of destroying themselves with their own hands.

#### CHIEF-JUSTICE SCROGGS.

One of the most important labours of this session, was an enquiry into the conduct of the judges. The most obnoxious of these was the Lord Chief-Justice Scroggs. Lord Russell introduced, at the bar of the House of Commons, several witnesses, who proved that a grand jury of Middlesex had been dismissed in an irregular manner, when they were about to present the Duke of York as a popish recusant, and to deliver a petition for the speedy meeting of parliament. In the debate which followed, Mr. Sydney mentioned that there had been a consultation of the judges about printing; and that they gave their opinion, that there was no way to prevent printing by law, as the act concerning it had expired. Upon which, some of the judges were put out, and new ones put in; and a fresh opinion was given, subscribed by all the judges, "That to print or publish any news-books, or pamphlets of news whatever, is illegal; that it is a manifest intent to the breach of the peace; and the offenders may be proceeded against by law for an illegal thing." In consequence of this opinion, a proclamation was issued to forbid printing news without the king's permission; and Scroggs sent a

messenger to seize all unlicensed books and pamphlets of news, and to apprehend their authors.

These facts were strongly commented on by the Whig members. No wonder, it was said, that petitioning for a parliament was discountenanced in the country, when a judge in Westminster-hall made it a ground for discharging a grand jury occupied in the execution of their duty. Such a proceeding amounted to a denial of justice, and was, in fact, a suspension of the laws: for laws themselves are but dead letters, unless their execution is secured. The government of Scotland, it was urged, had been quite altered since the Restoration by some new laws; and that of England might be soon changed, by the perversion of the old. The proclamation concerning the press was, in fact, an assumption of legislative power. It was remarked, that an extra-judicial opinion of the judges brought Charles the First into a contest concerning ship-money, and was the beginning of all his difficulties. It behoved the House of Commons, then, to arrest the judges in a course which might prove so fatal both to king and people. Nothing was said on the other side: the discharging of a grand jury, while matters are under their consideration, was voted arbitrary and illegal, and a committee appointed to examine the proceedings of the judges. By the report of this committee, many scandalous acts were brought to light. The chief battery, it appeared, was directed against the press. In several cases of persons accused of selling libellous pamphlets, the chief-justice had refused sufficient bail, and had told a woman of the name of Jane Curtis, who had sold a libel against himself, that she should expect no more mercy than a wolf that came to devour them. Berry, a stationer, being accused of selling "Observations on Wakeman's Trial," was refused bail, and obliged to attend five times before he could be discharged, though no information was exhibited against him. An offence having been taken at a pamphlet called "The Weekly Packet of Advice from Rome," a rule was made by the Court of King's Bench, forbidding its being printed or published. Upon this report, the House of Commons came to several resolutions, declaring the discharging of the grand jury illegal and arbitrary; that the Court of King's Bench, in the imposition of fines, and the refusing of bail, had acted illegally and arbitrarily; and that, in making the rule above-

above-mentioned, they had usurped to themselves legislative power.

For these offences, impeachments were ordered against Scroggs, Jones, and Weston. The articles against Scroggs were reported by Sir R. Corbet on the 5th January. They recited, that Sir William Scroggs, chief-justice of the Court of King's Bench, had traitorously endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom; that, having taken an oath duly to administer justice, he had suddenly and illegally dismissed a grand jury before they had finished their presentments; and, in particular, a bill of indictment against James Duke of York; that, by a rule of the Court of King's Bench, he had stopped the publication of the Weekly Packet, in open violation of the rights of the subject; that he had defamed the witnesses on the popish plot; that, by his excesses and debaucheries, he had brought the highest scandal on the public justice of the kingdom. But the most interesting charges were as follows:

4. "That the said Sir William Scroggs, since he was made chief-justice of the Court of King's Bench, hath, together with the other judges of the said court, most notoriously departed from all rules of justice and equality, in the imposition of fines upon persons convicted of misdemeanors in the said court; and particularly, in the term of Easter last past, did openly declare in the same court, in the case of one Jessop, who was convicted of publishing false news, and was then to be fined, that he would have regard to persons and their principles in imposing of fines, and would set a fine of 500*l.* on one person for the same offence, for the which he would not fine another 100*l.* And, according to his said unjust and arbitrary declaration, he, the said Sir William Scroggs, together with the said other justices, did then impose a fine of 100*l.* upon the said Jessop, although the said Jessop had, before that time, proved one Hewit to be convicted as author of the said false news; and afterwards, in the same term, did fine the same Hewit, upon his conviction, only five marks. Nor hath the said Sir William Scroggs, together with the other judges of the said court, had any regard to the nature of the offences, or the ability of the persons, in the imposing of fines, but have been manifestly partial and favourable to papists, and persons affected to and promoting the popish interest, in this time of imminent danger from them, &c.; and, at

the same time, have most severely and grievously oppressed his majesty's protestant subjects, as will appear upon view of the several records of juries, set in the said court; by which arbitrary, unjust, and partial proceedings, many of his majesty's liege people have been ruined, and popery countenanced, under colour of justice; and all the mischiefs and excesses of the Court of Star-Chamber, by act of parliament suppressed, have been again, in direct opposition to the said law, introduced.

5. "That he, the said Sir William Scroggs, for the further accomplishing of his traitorous and wicked purposes, and designing to subject the persons, as well as the estates, of his majesty's liege people to his lawless will and pleasure, hath frequently refused to accept of bail, though the same were sufficient, and legally tendered to him, by many persons accused before him only of such crimes for which, by law, bail ought to have been taken; and divers of the said persons being only accused of offences against himself; declaring, at the same time, that he refused bail, and committed them to gaol, only to put them to charges, and using such furious threats as were to the terror of his majesty's subjects, and such scandalous expressions as were a dishonour to the government, and the dignity of his office; and particularly, that he, the said Sir William Scroggs, did, in 1679, commit and detain in prison, in such unlawful manner, among others, Henry Carr, G. Broome, Edward Berry, Benjamin Harris, Francis Smith, senior, Francis Smith, junior, and Jane Curtis, citizens of London: which proceedings of the said Sir William Scroggs, are a high breach of the liberty of the subject, destructive to the fundamental laws of this realm, and contrary to the petition of rights, and other statutes, and do manifestly tend to the introducing of arbitrary power.

6. "That the said Sir William Scroggs, in further oppression of his majesty's liege people, hath, since his being made chief-justice of the said Court of King's Bench, in an arbitrary manner, granted divers general warrants for attaching the persons, and seizing the goods, of his majesty's subjects, not named or described particularly in the said warrants, by means whereof, many of his Majesty's subjects have been vexed, their houses entered into, and they themselves grievously oppressed, contrary to law."

It would be hardly possible to conceive a more direct progress to despotism,



tism, than that which these articles describe. The discretion given by the law seems to have been grossly abused, for the purpose of punishing those who were obnoxious to the court. The recollection of the evils here enumerated, and the care of our ancestors to close this avenue to arbitrary power, may be traced in the provisions of the Bill of Rights. It may also be remarked, that the characters which have been handed down to us of the judges of this reign, amply justify the fears that were entertained of their influence. "Lest the means of destroying the best protestants in England should fail," says Algernon Sydney, in the speech which he left behind him, "the bench was filled with such as had been blemishes to the bar." Scroggs, Saunders, and Jeffries, unworthy of the name of judges, were the fit tools of a king above the law. Intemperate and scandalous in their private conduct, savage and merciless in the exercise of their public functions, they were fawning to their sovereign, indulgent to themselves, insolent and overbearing to the prisoners who obtained at their bar the appearance of a trial. North and Pemberton were more respectable; but the one was prejudiced, and the other unprincipled.

The impeachment ordered by the Commons could not be brought to a trial before the dissolution of Parliament; but Scroggs was soon after removed from the bench. His disgrace seems to confirm the truth of the charges against him. It is gratifying to find, that, even in the worst times, public opinion may reach those who debase themselves so far as to abuse the sacred name of justice; and, instead of being the organ of the laws, speak from the bench the language of the court.

The Commons now passed a vote, in consequence of the general cry against corruption, that no member should accept of any office, or place of profit, from the crown, without leave of the House.

#### THE OXFORD PARLIAMENT.

Sir R. Clayton moved, on the 26th March, that the Exclusion Bill be brought in. The motion was seconded by Lord Russell. They both declared they had received addresses in its favour from their constituents. In the course of the debate, Sir William Pulteney, and Mr. Booth, representatives of Westminster, and Cheshire, made a similar declaration. On this day, the expedient hinted at by the king, was explained by Sir

John Earnly. It was to give the duke the title of king, and to his daughter the power of Regent. The duke was to be banished 500 miles from England. Sir Thomas Littleton spoke at length in favour of this plan. He had no doubt that the people would assemble, under the shelter of the law, to support the regency of the Prince and Princess of Orange; and a security against any attempt of the duke, would be found in his fears of forfeiting his landed property. Sir W. Jones replied, that to him who was playing for a kingdom, such a stake as an estate in land would not be worthy of consideration; and that, by the doctrine of the law, all incapacity is done away by coming to the throne; so that the restrictions would of themselves fall to the ground.

After a long debate, the House resolved that the Bill of Exclusion be brought in.

On the 28th of March, the Exclusion Bill was read a first time. The House then proceeded to the question of the impeachment of Fitzharris; but Sir W. Jones had hardly entered upon it, when the Black Rod knocked at the door, and gave notice that the king commanded the attendance of the House immediately in the House of Lords. After a short speech from the throne, the Lord Chancellor declared the king's pleasure that the parliament should be dissolved without any previous prorogation. Although this step was taken in great apparent haste, and kept secret till the moment of execution, several circumstances serve to show it had been long premeditated. When Sir William Temple offered to stand for Cambridge, the king informed him that he should have no occasion for his services in this parliament. And so totally unsupported was the crown in the House of Commons, that, when secretary Jenkins moved to throw out the Bill of Exclusion, his motion was not seconded. It is also said, that the Duchess of Mazarine spoke of the dissolution, in London, some hours before it had taken place at Oxford.

#### PRINCE OF ORANGE.

It is not well known how far the Prince of Orange was connected with the popular party during the reign of Charles the Second; but the occurrence I am going to relate, will shew that he was, at this time, July 1681, on good terms with Lord Russell and the Whigs. He paid a visit to England, for the purpose of doing away a misunderstanding he had had with the king, and with the



hope of raising in the court a jealousy against France, and a desire to try once more a reconciliation with parliament. For both these reasons, the Duke of York was much averse to his coming: but leave having been given before the Duke could prevent it, he arrived in London, where he was waited upon by Lord Russell, and the two sheriffs, who gave him an invitation to dine in the city, which he readily accepted. Lord Halifax, Lord Hyde, and Mr. Seymour, endeavoured to dissuade him from going; but he answered, that he had been in England twice before, and had dined both times in the city; and, upon their representing to him that the city was in opposition to the king, which it had not been before, he grew angry, and said he had promised, and would go. Upon this reply, Mr. Seymour immediately posted to Windsor, and got an order from the king for the Prince of Orange to join him immediately. The Prince obeyed; but did not conceal his trouble at being obliged to break his word.

## STEPHEN COLLEDGE.

This man was a carpenter, who, by his noisy zeal, and the notice he had received from the Duke of Monmouth, and other men of rank, had acquired the name of the Protestant joiner. Turberville, Dugdale, Haynes, and Smith, swore against him many treasonable discourses, and some strange stories of his having silk armour, and pocket pistols, at Oxford. The grand jury, however, refused to believe the witnesses, and threw out the bill. But the court was not to be foiled in this manner: they removed the trial to Oxford, where a jury, as partial on the other side, was procured. Colledge had, besides, many hardships to undergo. His papers were taken from him on his way to trial, and the court adjourned on purpose to examine them: so that, whilst the crown-lawyers had the advantage of knowing the points he meant to have argued, this poor mechanic was unable to plead the informality of the indictment, or to use other legal arguments he intended to have urged. A copy of the pannel, which had been usually given to prisoners, was denied him, and his own witnesses were not allowed to be examined upon oath. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, he brought forward such evidence as materially injured the credit of the witnesses against him. Excepting Sir W. Jennings, and Mr. Masters, he showed that every one of them had owned himself forced to change sides, to avoid starving,

or had been guilty of attempting to suborn others. One of them, Smith, had said, that if the parliament refused to give the king money, and continued to press the Bill of Exclusion, that was a sufficient ground for swearing there was a plot to seize the king. As for Sir W. Jennings and Mr. Masters, they only swore that Colledge had justified, in conversation, the parliament of 1640; and that, in a quarrel at Oxford, where he had got a bloody nose, he had said, "I have shed the first blood in the cause, but it will not be the last." Colledge explained this, as well as his having a sword and pistols in his possession, by saying that he expected the papists would attempt a massacre. He begged the jury to consider that he could not seize the king alone, and that no conspiracy had been proved. Jeffries, in speaking for the crown, impudently argued that they must not discredit Dugdale, (though, in one point, he had been clearly convicted of falsehood,) as that would be throwing a slur on the evidence for the popish plot. The Chief-justice North, in summing up, said, he would not notice the evidence that had been produced to discredit the witnesses, as that was a point for the jury to decide; yet he afterwards commented on such parts as he thought unfavourable to the prisoner. He was found guilty, and executed a fortnight afterwards. But the king, to display the royal attribute of mercy, gave permission that his quarters should be buried: a favour which he slighted; saying, with philosophical indifference, he cared not whether he was eaten-up by flies or worms.

## SHERIFFS OF LONDON.

The vengeance of the court against the Whig leaders, was still retarded by the influence which they maintained in the city. It was found that the proceedings in the case of *quo-warranto*, being embarrassed by legal forms, would occasion considerable delay. A shorter way to the same object was perceived, by electing sheriffs against the will of the citizens.

It had been an ancient custom for the Lord Mayor to name one of the sheriffs for the ensuing year by drinking to him, and this nomination was generally confirmed by the livery. But the letter of the charter, and various precedents, demonstrate, beyond all doubt, that the right of election resided in the citizens at large, and that the choice allowed to the Lord Mayor, was only a matter of courtesy between the city and its chief magistrate.



gistrate. The court, however, made use of this custom as an engine to impose not only one, but both, sheriffs of their own party. Sir John Moore, the Lord Mayor, a very weak man, was prevailed upon to drink to Mr. Dudley North, a Turkey merchant. The Whigs having pitched upon Mr. Papillion and Mr. Dubois for sheriffs, assembled in great numbers on the day of election, and were clamorous for a poll. The Lord Mayor, insisting on his right to choose one of the sheriffs by drinking to him, would not proceed to an election, but adjourned the court. And here the sheriffs of the year, Mr. Shute and Mr. Pilkington, were guilty of a great irregularity; for they still held on the court, and began a poll. Upon which some confusion ensued; and the next day, the Lord Mayor complained of the sheriffs for a riot, and they were committed to the Tower.

After another irregular poll, the election of the sheriffs at last took place, on the 15th of July, when the Lord Mayor insisted that North was already chosen, and would only poll for three, Papillion, Dubois, and Box, the court-candidate. The sheriff, on the other hand, opened the poll for all four. At the close of the poll the sheriffs came forward, and declared the numbers to stand thus:

Papillion	.	.	.	.	2432
Dubois	.	.	.	.	2481
Box	.	.	.	.	173
North	.	.	.	.	107
And against confirmation					2414

The Lord Mayor, on the other hand, declared that Papillion and Dubois had but 60, and Box 1244. The Lord Mayor declared Box to be the other sheriff, and the sheriffs declared Papillion and Dubois. Box having fined off, another election took place on the 19th of September; when a Mr. Rich being put up, there was such a noise of No Rich, that nothing could be heard. Upon which, the sheriffs granted a poll, and the majority again appeared for Papillion and Dubois. But the Lord Mayor, whilst the poll was adjourned, came forward, and declared Mr. Rich duly elected. On the 29th of September, Mr. North and Mr. Rich, the one chosen by an unlawful mode; and the other by open violence, were sworn, and took possession of their offices.

The court soon had an opportunity of making use of their new power. The Duke of York was, about this time, recalled from Scotland, chiefly for the purpose of making an arrangement of his

revenue, by which the Duchess of Portsmouth was to receive 5000*l.* a-year out of the post-office. "All this while," says James, in his *Memoirs*, speaking of himself, "the duke knew very well his revenue was so settled, that nothing but an act of parliament could alienate any part of it; which he took care not to mention to any living soul, lest that might have made the king lay the thoughts of it aside, or made her solicit for a parliament, which would have given that project a mischievous turn, and done him hurt instead of good." Soon after his return, Pilkington, formerly sheriff, being accused of saying, on a report that the duke intended to leave Scotland, "He has already burned the city, he is now coming to cut all our throats," was convicted, and sentenced to pay 100,000*l.* damages. A fine extending to the ruin of the criminal, and directly contrary to the spirit of our laws. Sir Patience Ward, formerly mayor, having given evidence that he did not hear the words spoken by Pilkington, was condemned to the pillory for perjury.

The election of the sheriffs seemed to complete the victory of the throne over the people. It was evident, from the past conduct of the court, that they would now select whom they pleased for condemnation.

#### RYE-HOUSE PLOT.

The year 1683, which begun with the death of Shaftesbury, was nearly fatal to the liberties of England. The surrender of the city's charter, and its renewal on the most abject terms; the decree of the university of Oxford, enforcing slavery as a moral and religious duty; the deaths of Russell and of Sydney; were deep, and almost mortal, wounds to our constitution.

After Shaftesbury was gone, there were held meetings of his former creatures in the chambers of one West, an active, talking man, who had got the name of being an atheist. Col. Rumsey, an officer who had served under Cromwell, and afterwards in Portugal; Ferguson, who had a general propensity for plots; Good-enough, who had been under-sheriff; and one Holloway, of Bristol; were the chief persons at these meetings. Lord Howard was at one time among them. Their discourse seems to have extended itself to the worst species of treason and murder; but, whether they had any concerted plan for assassinating the king, is still a mystery. Amongst those who were sounded in this business was one Keeling, a vintner sinking in business, to

whom Goodenough often spoke of their designs. This man went to Legge, then made Lord Dartmouth, and discovered all he knew. Lord Dartmouth took him to secretary Jenkins, who told him he could not proceed without more witnesses. It would also seem that some promises were made to him; for he said in a tavern, in the hearing of many persons, that "he had considerable proffers made him of money, and a place worth 100*l.* or 80*l.* per annum, to do something for them;" and he afterwards obtained a place in the Victualling Office, by means of Lord Halifax. The method he took of procuring another witness was, by taking his brother into the company of Goodenough, and afterwards persuading him to go and tell what he had heard at Whitehall.

The substance of the information given by Josiah Keeling, in his first examination, was, that a plot had been formed for enlisting forty men, to intercept the king and duke, on their return from Newmarket, at a farm-house called Rye, belonging to one Rumbold, a maltster; and this plan being defeated by a fire at Newmarket, which caused the king's return sooner than was expected, the design of an insurrection was laid; and, as the means of carrying this project into effect, they said that Goodenough had spoken of 4000 men, and 20,000*l.*, to be raised by the Duke of Monmouth, and other great men. The following day, the two brothers made oath that Goodenough had told them that Lord Russell had promised to engage in the design, and to use all his interest to accomplish the killing of the king and the duke. When the council found that the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Russell were named, they wrote to the king to come to London; for they would not venture to go further, without his presence and leave. In the meantime, warrants were issued for the apprehension of several of the conspirators. Hearing of this, and having had private information from the brother of Keeling, they had a meeting, on the 18th of June, at Captain Walcot's lodging. At this meeting were present Walcot, Wade, Rumsey, Norton, the two Goodenoughs, Nelthrop, West, and Ferguson. Finding they had no means either of opposing the king, or flying into Holland, they agreed to separate, and shift each man for himself.

A proclamation was now issued for seizing on some who could not be found; and, amongst these, Rumsey and West

were named. The next day, West delivered himself, and Rumsey came in a day after him. Their confessions, especially concerning the assassination at the Rye-House, were very ample. Burnet says they had concerted a story, to be brought out on such an emergency.

WILLIAM LORD RUSSELL.

In this critical situation, Lord Russell, though perfectly sensible of his danger, acted with the greatest composure. He had long before told Mr. Johnson, that "he was very sensible he should fall a sacrifice: arbitrary government could not be set up in England without wading through his blood." The day before the king arrived, a messenger of the council was sent to wait at his gate, to stop him, if he had offered to go out: yet his back-gate was not watched; so that he might have gone away, if he had chosen it. He had heard that he was named by Rumsey; but he feared no danger from a man whom he had always disliked, and never trusted. Yet he thought proper to send his wife amongst his friends for advice. They were at first of different minds; but, as he said he apprehended nothing from Rumsey, they agreed that his flight would look too like a confession of guilt. This advice coinciding with his own opinion, he determined to stay where he was. As soon as the king arrived, a messenger was sent to bring him before the council. When he appeared there, the king told him that nobody suspected him of any design against his person; but that he had good evidence of his being in designs against his government. He was examined, upon the information of Rumsey, concerning a meeting at one Sheppard's, to which Rumsey pretended to have carried a message, requiring a speedy resolution, and to have received for answer, that Mr. Trenchard had failed them at Taunton. Lord Russell totally denied all knowledge of this message. When the examination was finished, Lord Russell was sent a close prisoner to the Tower. Upon his going in, he told his servant, Taunton, that he was sworn against, and they would have his life. Taunton said he hoped it would not be in the power of his enemies to take it. Lord Russell answered, "Yes; the devil is loose."

From this moment he looked upon himself as a dying man, and turned his thoughts wholly to another world. He read much in the Scriptures, particularly in the Psalms; but, whilst he behaved with the serenity of a man prepared for death, his friends exhibited an honourable



ble anxiety to preserve his life. Lord Essex would not leave his house, lest his absconding might incline a jury to give more credit to the evidence against Lord Russell. The Duke of Monmouth sent to let him know he would come in, and run fortunes with him; if he thought it could do him any service. He answered, it would be of no advantage to him to have his friends die with him.

A committee of the privy council came to examine him. Their enquiries related to the meeting at Sheppard's, the rising at Taunton, the seizing of the guard, and a design for a rising in Scotland. In answer to the questions put to him, he acknowledged he had been at Sheppard's house divers times, and that he went there with the Duke of Monmouth; but he denied all knowledge of any consultation tending to an insurrection, or to surprize the guard. He remembered no discourse concerning any rising at Taunton, and knew of no design for a rising in Scotland. He answered his examiners in a civil manner, but declined making any defence till his trial, when he had no doubt of being able to prove his innocence. The charge of treating with the Scots, as a thing the council were positively assured of, alarmed his friends; and Lady Russell desired Dr. Burnet to examine who it could be that had charged him; but, upon enquiry, it appeared to be only an artifice to draw a confession from him: and, notwithstanding the power which the court possessed to obtain the condemnation of their enemies, by the perversion of the law, the servility of the judges, and the submission of juries, Lord Russell might still have contested his life, with some prospect of success, had not a new circumstance occurred to cloud his declining prospects. This was the apprehension and confession of Lord Howard.

#### LORD ESSEX.

A circumstance of more melancholy interest, but also tending to produce an impression unfavourable to Lord Russell, happened on the very morning of his trial. We have seen that Lord Essex staid in his own house, without any apparent uneasiness, from an apprehension that his flight would be injurious to his friend. An order was now given for his arrest, on the information of Lord Howard. A party of horse was sent to bring him up from his house at Cashio-bury. He was at first in some disorder, but soon recovered himself. When he came before the council, however, he

was in much confusion. He was sent to the Tower, and there fell under a great depression of spirits. He sent, by his servant, a very melancholy message to his wife, that what he was charged with was true; that he was sorry he had ruined her and her children; and that he had sent to Lord Clarendon, who had married his sister, to speak freely to him. She immediately sent back to him, to beg that he would not think of her or her children, but only study to support his own spirits; and desired him to say nothing to Lord Clarendon, nor to any one else, till she should come to him, which she hoped to get leave to do in a day or two. Lord Clarendon came to him upon his message, but he turned the matter off, as if he only wished to explain something he had said before the council. Lord Clarendon was satisfied that he had nothing farther to communicate.\* After this he sent another message to his wife, that he was much calmer, especially when he found how she took his condition to heart, without seeming concerned for herself. The condition of his friend, Lord Russell, seems to have pressed heavily on his mind. He sent to the Earl of Bedford to say, he was more concerned for his son's condition than even Lord Bedford himself; and Lord Russell, when he looked towards Lord Essex's window, had observed him retire immediately into his room.

On the morning appointed for Lord Russell's trial, his servant, Bommeny, (as he asserted,) thinking he staid longer in his room than ordinary, looked through the key-hole, and there saw him lying dead. He said that, upon breaking-open the door, he saw his master with his throat cut, quite dead. At the time, it was universally supposed that Lord Essex was the author of his own death; but this opinion was afterwards rendered doubtful, by the deposition of two children of thirteen years of age, totally unknown to each other, who declared that they saw a bloody razor thrown out of the window of Lord Essex's chamber. Braddon, who gave currency to these reports, was tried and convicted as a spreader of false news. After the Revolution, a committee of the House of Lords, consisting of Lord Bedford, Lord Devonshire, Lord Delamere, and Lord Monmouth, was named, to enquire into the death of Lord Essex. They examined above sixty witnesses; but Lord Devonshire,

\* Burnet.

shire, Lord Delamere, and Lord Monmouth, being obliged to leave London on public business, the investigation was suspended; and parliament, being soon afterwards dissolved, it was never resumed. Some time before this, however, Lady Essex had called a meeting of her relations, at which Lord Bedford, Lord Devonshire, and Bishop Burnet, were present; at which she declared she believed Lord Essex had killed himself, and desired the business might fall.\* The depositions taken before the Lords are not to be found; it would be idle therefore, at the present time, to pretend to give any opinion on the subject; and I should say no more on it, were it not that I have been assured, by the present Earl of Essex, that Lord Onslow told him, when a boy, that he had seen the entry of a grant of money to Bommeny in the books of the Treasury. After a careful examination, however, which has been made at my desire, no such entry can be found.

#### TRIAL OF LORD RUSSELL.

The interval between the imprisonment of Lord Russell and his trial, was anxiously spent by Lady Russell in preparations for his defence. The two following notes are the best evidence of the nature of her employment; and the last will be valuable to those who set a price upon any memorial tending to show how well firmness may be combined with affection.

[*Lady Russell to Lord Russell.*]

I had, at coming home, an account that your trial, as to your appearing, is not till to-morrow. Others are tried this day, and your indictment presented, I suppose. I am going to your counsel, when you shall have a further account from" —

[*Lady Russell to Lord Russell.*]

Endorsed—"To ask his leave to be at his trial."

"Your friends, believing I can do you some service at your trial, I am extreme willing to try (if) my resolution will hold out—pray let your's. But it may be, the court will not let me; however, do you let me try. I think, however, to meet you at Richardson's, and then resolve: your brother Ned will be with me, and sister Marget."

On Friday the 13th of July, Lord Russell was placed within the bar of the Old Bailey, to take his trial for high-treason.

The clerk of the crown, having desired

\* Diary of Henry Earl of Clarendon.

him to hold up his hand, proceeded to read the indictment, the substance of which was "for conspiring the death of the king, and consulting and agreeing to stir up insurrection; and, to that end, to seize the guard for the preservation of the king's person."

On the question of Guilty or not guilty being put to him, Lord Russell asked the Lord Chief-Justice, (Sir Francis Pemberton,) if he might not have a copy of the matter of fact laid against him, in order that he might know how to answer it; but, being told nothing could be granted until he should plead, he pleaded Not guilty. The usual question then being asked, How he would be tried? Lord Russell observed, he thought a prisoner was never arraigned and tried at the same time. To which the Lord Chief-Justice answered, "that for crimes of this nature it was continually done."

The Attorney-General said, his lordship had no reason to complain; since Monday se'nnight he had had notice of trial, and the matter alleged against him; that he had the liberty of counsel to advise him; and that no sort of privilege had been denied which became a subject in his condition to have.

Lord Russell replied, he had heard only some general questions; he expected witnesses who could not arrive before night; and thought it very hard he could not be allowed one day more.

The Lord Chief-Justice told him, without the king's consent, they could not put off the trial. Lord Russell then demanded a copy of the pannel of the jury, that he might challenge them.

The Lord Chief-Justice and Attorney-General expressed their surprise that his lordship had not received a list, as they had ordered the Secondary Normansel to prepare one. Lord Russell begging that he might have one, the Lord Chief-Justice wished to defer his trial till the afternoon, which the Attorney General opposed. Upon this, he observed his case was very hard; to which Sir Robert Sawyer, then Attorney-General, answered, "Do not say so; the king does not deal hardly with you; but, I am afraid it will appear, you would have dealt more hardly with the king; you would not have given the king an hour's notice for saving his life."

The Secondary Normansel was then sent for, when it appeared that a list of names had been given to Lord Russell's servant, who delivered it to Lady Russell, from whom his lordship received it; but Lord Russell stated, the names of the persons



persons on the list were those who were generally on juries, but not a pannel.

A conversation then took place between Lord Russell, the Lord Chief-Justice, and the Attorney-General, in which Lord Russell complained of not having been furnished with a proper copy of the pannel; and requested his trial might be postponed until the afternoon. The Lord Chief-Justice answered, the king's counsel did not think his request reasonable, and would not delay the trial any longer.

Lord Russell asked for pen, ink, and paper, and the use of any papers he had; which request being granted, he said,

"May I have somebody to write, to help my memory?"

*Attorney General.*—"Yes; a servant."

*Lord Chief-Justice.*—"Any of your servants shall assist in writing any thing you please."

*Lord Russell.*—"My wife is here, my lord, to do it."

*Lord Chief-Justice.*—"If my lady please to give herself the trouble."

The jury being then called, Lord Russell objected to Sir Andrew Foster, as not being in the list. John Martin was next called, upon which Lord Russell asked if he was possessed of a freehold of forty shillings a-year; adding, he hoped none would be allowed in the pannel but those who were freeholders; for, by the statute of 2 Hen. V. it was enacted, that no person shall be judged, in cases of life and death, but by persons possessing freehold property to that amount.

The Lord Chief-Justice answered, that the city of London belonging much to nobility and gentry who live abroad, was an exception to this. Upon which Lord Russell requested, as it was a point of law, his counsel might be called in to argue it.

Mr. Pollexfen, Mr. Holt, and Mr. Ward, the counsel assigned to Lord Russell, were then called, and used many arguments to prove that no person could be a jurymen in this case, who did not possess freehold property; in which they were opposed by the Attorney and Solicitor-Generals. The Lord Chief-Justice, the Lord Chief-Baron, Mr. Baron Street, and the Justices Windham, Jones, Leving, and Withens, gave their opinions against Lord Russell.

The Lord Chief-Justice then delivered the opinion of the court, in the following words:

"My Lord, the court is of opinion, upon hearing your lordship's counsel, and the king's, that it is no good challenge to a jury, in case of treason, that he has

not freehold within the city. But I must tell your lordship withal, that your lordship has nothing of hardship in this case; for, notwithstanding that, I must tell you, that you will have as good a jury, and better than you should have had, in a county of 4l. or 40s. a-year freeholders. The reason of the law for freeholds is, that no slight persons should be put upon a jury, where the life of a man, or his estate, comes in question; but, in the city, the persons that are impannelled are men of quality and substance; men that have a great deal to lose. And, therefore, your lordship hath the same in substance, as if a challenge was allowed in frechold. It will be no kind of prejudice to your lordship in this case. Therefore, if you please, apply yourself, as the jury is called, and make your exceptions, if you shall make any."

Then the jury were called; and, after Lord Russell had challenged one-and-thirty of them, the jury were sworn.

#### HIS DEFENCE.

"My Lord: I cannot but think myself very unfortunate, in appearing at this place, charged with a crime of the blackest and wickedest nature, and that intermixed and intricated with the treasonable and horrid practices and speeches of other men; and the king's learned counsel taking all advantages, improving and heightening every circumstance against me; and I myself no lawyer, a very unready speaker, and altogether a stranger to proceedings of this kind; besides, naked, without counsel, and one against many; so that I cannot but be very sensible of my inability to make my just defence.

"But you, my lords the judges, I hope, will be equal, and of counsel for me; and I hope likewise, that you, gentlemen of the jury, (though strangers to me,) are men of conscience, that value innocent blood, and do believe that with what measure you mete it shall be measured to you again, either in this or in another world. Nor can I doubt but you will consider the witnesses as persons that hope to save their own lives, by swearing to take away mine.

"But, to answer, in short, what is laid to my charge, I do in the first place declare, that I have ever had a heart sincerely loyal and affectionate to the king and government, (which I look upon as the best of governments;) and have always as fervently wished and prayed for his majesty's long life as any man living.

"And now, to have it intimated as if I were

I were abetting, or agreeing to, his murder, (I must needs say,) is very hard; for I have ever looked upon the assassination of any private person as an abominable, barbarous, and inhuman thing, tending to the destruction of all society; how much more the assassination of a prince! which cannot enter into my thoughts without horror and detestation: especially considering him as my natural prince, and one, upon whose death such dismal consequences are likely to ensue. An action so abominably wicked, rash, and inconsiderate, that none but desperate wretches or madmen could contrive. And, can it be believed that, my circumstances and the past actions of my life considered, I should be capable of being guilty of so horrid a design? Certainly it cannot.

"As for going about to make or raise a rebellion; that, likewise, is a thing so wicked, and withal impracticable, that it never entered into my thoughts. Had I been disposed to it, I never found, by all my observation, that there was the least disposition or tendency to it in the people. And it is known, rebellion cannot be now made here, as in former times, by a few great men.

"I have been always for preserving the government upon the due basis and ancient foundation, and for having things redressed in a legal, parliamentary way; always against all irregularities and innovations whatsoever; and so I shall be, I am sure, to my dying day, be it sooner or later."

The Lord Chief-Justice, after summing up the evidence, told the jury, "The question before you will be, whether, upon this whole matter, you do believe my Lord Russell had any design upon the king's life, to destroy the king, or take away his life: for that is the material part here. It is used and given you by the king's counsel, as an evidence of this, that he did conspire to raise an insurrection, and to cause a rising of the people; to make, as it were, a rebellion within the nation, and to surprise the king's guard; which, say they, can have no other end but to seize and destroy the king; and, it is a great evidence (if my Lord Russell did design to seize the king's guard, and make an insurrection in the kingdom), of a design to surprise the king's person. It must be left to you, upon the whole matter. You have not evidence in this case, as there was in the other matter that was tried in the morning, or yesterday, against the conspirators, to kill the king at the Rye.

There was a direct evidence of a consult to kill the king, that is not given you in this case. This is an act of contriving rebellion and an insurrection within the kingdom, and to seize his guard, which is urged as evidence, and surely is in itself an evidence to seize and destroy the king."

The court then adjourned till four o'clock; when the jury brought in the verdict of Guilty of the said high-treason.

#### SENTENCE.

On Saturday the 14th of July, Lord Russell was brought to the bar to receive sentence. Upon being asked why judgment of death should not be passed upon him, he requested to have the indictment read. At the words "of conspiring the death of the king," Lord Russell said, "Hold! I thought I had not been charged in the indictment as it is, of compassing and conspiring the death of the king."

*Attorney-General.*—"Yes, my lord."

*Lord Russell.*—"But, Mr. Recorder, if all that the witnesses swore against me be true, I appeal to you, and to the court,—I appeal to you, whether I am guilty within the statute of 25th Edward III. they having sworn a conspiracy to levy war, but no intention of killing the king; and therefore, I think truly, judgment ought not to pass upon me for conspiring the death of the king, of which there was no proof by any one witness."

To this the Recorder replied, that it was an exception proper to be made before the verdict; but that the court was now bound by the verdict, as well as the prisoner. Thus, in the state of the law at that time, the prisoner was unable to introduce counsel before the verdict, because that were admitting the fact; and he was excluded from arguing the point after the verdict, because the jury had given judgment on the fact and the law together.

Judgment was then given from the mouth of Sir G. Treby, who had been one of Lord Russell's associates in parliament, in the usual form, with all its disgusting circumstances.

#### HIS SUBMISSION.

The importunity of his friends, and the deep distress of a wife whom he so tenderly loved, prevailed upon Lord Russell to take another step to save his life. This was, to write petitions to the king, and to the duke of York, offering to live abroad, and never more to meddle in the affairs of England. He left it to his friends, how the petitions were to be



be worded. If there was some weakness in thus asking for mercy, there was nothing degrading to his honourable character. Indeed, he does not seem to have entertained any expectation of saving his life; but he did not choose to afflict his wife, by the appearance of a haughty silence towards his sovereign.

The following are the petitions of the Earl of Bedford, and Lord Russell, to the king, and Lord Russell's letter to the Duke of York:

*"To the king's most excellent majesty.*

*"The humble petition of William Earl of Bedford:*

"Humbly sheweth;

"That could your petitioner have been admitted into your presence, he would have laid himself at your royal feet, in behalf of his unfortunate son, himself, and his distressed and disconsolate family, to implore your royal mercy; which he never had the presumption to think could be obtained by any indirect means. But shall think himself, wife, and children, much happier, to be left but with bread and water, than to lose his dear son, for so foul a crime as treason against the best of princes, for whose life he ever did, and ever shall, pray, more than for his own.

"May God incline your majesty's heart to the prayers of an afflicted old father, and not bring my grey hairs with sorrow to the grave. BEDFORD."

*"To the king's most excellent majesty.*

*"The humble petition of William Russell:*

"Most humbly sheweth;

"That your petitioner does once more cast himself at your majesty's feet, and implores, with all humility, your mercy and pardon; still avowing that he never had the least thought against your majesty's life, nor any design to change the government: but humbly and sorrowfully confesses his having been present at those meetings, which, he is convinced, were unlawful, and justly provoking to your majesty; but, being betrayed by ignorance and inadvertence, he did not decline them, as he ought to have done, for which he is truly and heartily sorry; and, therefore, humbly offers himself to your majesty, to be determined to live in any part of the world which you shall appoint, and never to meddle any more in the affairs of England, but as your majesty shall be pleased to command him.

"May it therefore please your majesty, to extend your royal favour and mercy to your petitioner, by which he

will be for ever engaged to pray for your majesty, and to devote his life to your service. WILLIAM RUSSELL."

The following letter of Lord Russell to the duke, was delivered by Lady Russell to the Duchess of York:

*"May it please your highness:*

"The opposition I have appeared in to your highness's interest, has been such, as I have scarce the confidence to be a petitioner to you, though in order to the saving of my life. Sir, God knows, what I did, did not proceed from any personal ill-will or animosity to your royal highness; but merely because I was of opinion, that it was the best way for preserving the religion established by law: in which, if I was mistaken, yet I acted sincerely, without any ill end in it. And, as for any base design against your person, I hope your royal highness will be so just to me, as not to think me capable of so vile a thought. But I am now resolved, and do faithfully engage myself, that if it shall please the king to pardon me, and if your royal highness will interpose in it, I will in no sort meddle any more in the least opposition to your royal highness; but will be readily determined to live in any part of the world which his majesty shall prescribe, and will never fail in my daily prayers, both for his majesty's preservation and honour, and your royal highness's happiness; and will wholly withdraw myself from the affairs of England, unless called by his majesty's orders to serve him, which I shall never be wanting to do to the uttermost of my power. And, if your royal highness will be so gracious to me, as to move on my account, as it will be an engagement upon me beyond what I can in reason expect, so it will make the deepest impression on me possible; for, no fear of death can work so much with me, as so great an obligation will for ever do upon, May it please your royal highness, your royal highness's most humble, and most obedient servant,

"WILLIAM RUSSELL."

Newgate, July 16, 1683.

HIS DEATH.

In sober discourse Lord Russell spent his time, till the day previous to his execution. At the hours of meals, he talked of the news of the day, and the politics of Europe, in the style he had usually done. But Friday being the day he had fixed for receiving the sacrament, he determined to pass the day as he would have done the Sunday, had he lived so long. The sacrament was given him early in the morning (his servant receiving

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it with him) by the Dean of Canterbury (Tillotson.) After he had received it, the dean asked him, if he believed all the articles of the Christian religion, as taught by the church of England. He answered, "Yes, truly." Then he asked him, if he forgave all persons. That, he said, he did from his heart. Then the dean told him, he hoped he would discharge his conscience in full and free confession. He said that he had done it. Upon which the dean left him; and Dr. Burnet, in the course of the morning, preached two sermons to him. In the interval, he told him, he could not pretend to such high joys and longings as Dr. B. had spoken of, but on an entire resignation of himself to the will of God, and a perfect serenity of mind. He said he was sometimes troubled, because he had not those longings which were felt by Mr. Hampden, a friend for whom he had great kindness and esteem. Mr. Hampden had, a few days before, given him, from Mr. Baxter, his book of *Dying Thoughts*, then lately published, from which he derived great comfort. He said he was much concerned at the cloud which seemed to be over his country; but, he hoped his death would do more service than his life could have done. After dinner, he signed the copies of his paper, and desired it might be sent to the press. He then received a few of his friends, and took his last leave of his children. On this occasion, the fondness of a father did not prevent him from maintaining the constancy of his temper. A little before he went to eat his supper, he said to Lady Russell, "Stay, and sup with me; let us eat our last earthly food together." He talked very cheerfully, during supper, on various subjects, and particularly of his two daughters. He mentioned several passages of dying men with great freedom of spirit; and, when a note was sent to his wife, containing a new project for his preservation, he turned it into ridicule in such a manner, that those who were with him, and were not themselves able to contain their griefs, were amazed. They could not conceive how his heart, naturally so tender, could resist the impression of their sorrow. In the day-time he had bled at the nose, on which he said, "I shall not now let blood to divert this: that will be done to-morrow." And, when it rained hard that night, he said, "Such a rain to-morrow will spoil a great show, which is a dull thing on a rainy day."

Before his wife left him, he took her by the hand, and said, "This flesh you

now feel, in a few hours, must be cold." At ten o'clock she left him. He kissed her four or five times; and she so governed her sorrow, as not to add, by the sight of her distress, to the pain of separation. Thus they parted; not with sobs and tears, but with a composed silence: the wife wishing to spare the feelings of the husband, and the husband, of the wife, they both restrained the expression of a grief too great to be relieved by utterance.

When she was gone, he said, "Now the bitterness of death is past." And he then ran out into a long discourse concerning her; saying, how great a blessing she had been to him, and what a misery it would have been to him, if she had not had that magnanimity of spirit, joined to her tenderness, as never to have desired him to do a base thing to save his life. Whereas, what a week he should have passed, if she had been imploring him to turn informer, and to be a Lord Howard! He then repeated to Dr. Burnet, what he had often before said, that he knew of nothing whereby the peace of the nation was in danger; and that all that ever was, was either loose discourse, or, at most, embryos that never came to anything: so there was nothing on foot, to his knowledge. He then returned to speak of his wife. He said there was a signal providence of God in giving him such a wife, where there was birth, fortune, great understanding, great religion, and great kindness to him; but her carriage, in his extremity, was beyond all. He said that he was glad that she and his children were to lose nothing by his death; and it was great comfort to him, that he left his children in such a mother's hands, and that she had promised him to take care of herself for their sakes. Then he spoke of his own situation, and said, how great a change death made; and how wonderfully those new scenes would strike on his soul. He had heard how some that had been born blind, were struck, when, by the couching of their cataracts, they saw; but what, he said, if the first thing they saw were the sun rising?

His servant requested he might sit up in his chamber, while he slept. This he refused; and was locked up between eleven and twelve, leaving orders to be called at four. When his servant came, at that hour, he found him as sound asleep as at any time in his life. As he awoke, he asked what o'clock it was; but, whilst his servant was preparing his things for him to dress, he



he fell asleep again. Dr. Burnet coming in, woke him, saying, "What, my lord! asleep?" "Yes, doctor," he said; "I have slept heartily since one o'clock." He then desired him to go to his wife, to say that he was well, and had slept well, and hoped she had done so. He remembered himself kindly to her, and prayed for her. He dressed himself with the same care as usual; and said, he thanked God he felt no sort of fear or hurry in his thoughts. He prayed several times with Dr. Burnet, and afterwards with Dean Tillotson; and, at intervals, went into his chamber, and prayed by himself. Once he came out, and said he had been much inspired in his last prayer, and wished he could have written it down, and sent it to his wife. He gave Dr. Burnet several commissions to his relations; but none more earnest than to one of them, against all revenge for what had been done to himself: he told Burnet he was to give him his watch; and, as he wound it up, he said, "I have done with time: now eternity comes."

About half an hour before he was called on by the sheriffs, he took Dr. Burnet aside, and said, that he meant to say something of the dangers of Slavery as well as Popery; but, on Dr. Burnet's telling him it would look like resentment, and begging him to let it alone, he smiled, and said he would do so.

As he came down, he met Lord Cavendish, and took leave of him; but, remembering something of importance, he went back to him, and spoke to him with great earnestness. He pressed him anxiously to apply himself more to religion; and told him what great comfort and support he felt from it now in his extremity. Such was his last advice and farewell to his dearest friend. He went into his coach with great cheerfulness: Dr. Tillotson and Dr. Burnet accompanied him. As they were going, he looked about him, and knew several persons. Some he saw staring on him, who knew him, and did not put off their hats. He said, there was great joy in some, but that did not touch him so much as the tears he observed in the eyes of others; for that, he said, made him tender. He sung within himself as he went along; and Dr. Burnet asking him what he was singing, he said it was the 119th psalm; but he should sing better very soon. As the carriage turned into Little Queen Street, he said, "I have often turned to the other hand with great comfort, but now I turn to this with greater." As he said this, he looked towards his own

house; and Dr. Tillotson saw a tear drop from his eye.

Just as they were entering Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, he said, "This has been to me a place of sinning, and God now makes it the place of my punishment." He wondered to see so great a crowd assembled. He had before observed that it rained; and said to his companions, "This rain may do you hurt that are bare-headed."

After all was quiet, he spoke to the sheriff as follows:

"Gentlemen,\*—I expected the noise would be such, that I should not be very well heard. I was never fond of much speaking, much less now; therefore, I have set down, in this paper, all that I think fit to leave behind me. God knows how far I was always from designs against the king's person, or of altering the government. And I still pray for the preservation of both, and of the Protestant religion. Mr. Sheriff, I am told, that Captain Walcot yesterday said some things concerning my knowledge of the plot: I know not whether the report is true or not."

Mr. Sheriff.—"I did not hear him name your lordship."

Writer.—"No, my lord, your lordship was not named by any of them."

Lord Russell.—"I hope it is not true; for, to my knowledge, I never saw him, nor spake with him, in my whole life; and, in the words of a dying man, I profess I know of no plot, either against the king's life, or the government. But, I have now done with this world, and am going to a better: I forgive all the world heartily, and I thank God I die in charity with all men; and I wish all sincere protestants may love one another, and not make way for popery by their animosities. I pray God forgive them, and continue the protestant religion amongst them, that it may flourish so long as the sun and moon endure. I am now more satisfied to die than ever I have been."

Then he desired the Dean to pray. After that, he spoke a word to the Dean, and gave him his ring, and gave Dr. Burnet

\* The night before he died, he thought of the short speech he was to make on the scaffold. Instead of beginning, "Mr. Sheriff," he resolved to begin, "Gentlemen;" because, he said, he was not truly sheriff. He accordingly did so; but, he did not think it worth while to make the same alteration in the paper that was to be printed.—Burnet, MSS.

Burnet his watch, and bid him go to Southampton-House, and to Bedford-House, and deliver the commissions he had given him in charge. In these, his last moments, one of his commissions was a message of kind remembrance to one who held the principles in opposition to which he was about to sacrifice his life. This was Mr. Kettlewell, a clergyman, who, for his religious zeal, had been introduced as chaplain into the Earl of Bedford's family, but who held, to their farthest extent, the doctrines of unlimited obedience, and the illegality of resistance, under any pretence whatsoever. And he lost no opportunity for explaining and defending these opinions to Lord Russell. "But," says his biographer, "although this unfortunate Lord had no very favourable opinion of the English clergy in general, as thinking them, for the most part, a set of men too much bigotted to slavish principles, and not zealous enough for the protestant religion, or the common interest of a free nation; yet, it is worthy of observation, that the meek and christian behaviour of Mr. Kettlewell would not suffer him not to have an esteem for him, which he failed not to express, even in his last moments, by sending a message to him, from the scaffold, of his kind remembrance of him.

He then knelt down, and prayed three or four minutes by himself. When that was done, he took off his coat and waistcoat. He had brought a night-cap in his pocket, fearing his servant might not get up to him. He undressed himself, and took off his cravat, without the least change of countenance. Just as he was going down to the block, some one called out to make a lane, that the Duke of Albemarle might see; upon which, he looked full that way. Dr. Burnet had advised him not to turn about his head when it was once on the block, and not to give a signal to the executioner. These directions he punctually attended to.

"When he had laid down," says Dr. Burnet, "I once looked at him, and saw no change in his looks; and, though he was still lifting-up his hands, there was no trembling, though, in the moment in which I looked, the executioner happened to be laying his axe to his neck, to direct him to take aim: I thought it touched him, but am sure he seemed not to mind it.

The executioner, at two strokes, cut off his head.

#### HIS OPINIONS.

The political opinions of Lord Russell were those of a Whig. His religious creed was that of a mild and tolerant christian. If, as it must be admitted, he showed a violent animosity to the Roman Catholics, to an extent which cannot be justified, it must be recollected, that his hostility was almost entirely political. The attack which was made upon our constitution, appeared in the colours and with the ensigns of Popery; and, it was only by resisting the Romish Church, that civil liberty could be secured. He wished our own institutions to be more favourable to dissenters; or, in other words, for a larger comprehension of sects. Had this wish been gratified, the Protestant Church of England would have been strengthened, both against the See of Rome, and against future schism, with the loss only of some slavish doctrines, and a few unimportant ceremonies, which our early reformers never adopted.

It must be owned, that the violence of Lord Russell against the Roman Catholics, betrayed him into credulity. It was the fault of honest men in that age; and it is singular that, absurd as the story of the popish plot avowedly is, we have more respect for those who fell into the delusion, than for those who escaped it. And, whatever blame may attach to Lord Russell for an excess of political and religious zeal, it cannot be denied that his firmness and perseverance were eminently useful to his country, in a most critical period of her fortunes, and that his example contributed to the establishment of those liberties which he died to vindicate.

#### WAS THERE A RYE-HOUSE PLOT?

I have related these particulars concerning those who suffered for the Rye-House plot, that the reader may the more easily be enabled to follow the remarks I am about to make on the real nature of that plot. If my opinion is well founded, there existed, indeed, both in the higher and the lower orders, a great number of discontented persons: this discontent produced consultations on the state of the nation, and the practicability of resistance, amongst the leaders; and wild talk, about taking off the king and duke, amongst indigent and unprincipled men. But, there never was a formed plan, either for assassinating the king, or raising the country, except in the heads of Rumsey and West, and Lord Howard and Lord Grey.

I must



I must remark, in the first place, that Lord Russell, and those connected with him, were never supposed to be implicated, even by their bitterest enemies, in the plot for murdering the king. It will be as well, therefore, to speak of that plot in the first place.

On a subject of this kind, there is no better evidence than that of men who are about to die for the crime; and their confessions are more to be attended to, in this case, than in that of the popish plot; as the persons executed for this conspiracy, were not bound, by any tie of faith or sect, to support one another, and were of different religions, manners, professions, and habits.

The judgment expressed by Lady Russell, many years afterwards, probably contains the truth on this subject. She was persuaded the Rye-House plot was no more than "talk;"—"and, 'tis possible," she adds, "that talk going so far as to consider, if a remedy to supposed evils might be sought, how it could be found."

The Duke of Monmouth, in his declaration against James the Second, seems to allow the existence of meetings to consult of extraordinary, yet lawful means, to rescue our religion and liberties from the hand of violence, when all ordinary means, according to the laws, were denied and obstructed.

We may now, upon the whole, conclude, that the consultations in which Lord Russell took a part, related to the means of resisting the government, but that no plan of rebellion was any wise matured.

It remains to be considered, how far Lord Russell was justified in consulting and debating on the practicability of raising an insurrection.

I apprehend, few men will now deny that resistance to a government may sometimes be an act, not only justifiable as an enterprise, but imperative as a duty. At the same time, I am far from agreeing to the doctrine attributed to Lord Chatham, that "it were better for the people to perish in a glorious contention for their rights, than to purchase a slavish tranquillity, at the expense of a single iota of the constitution." It should, indeed, be the endeavour of men who have inherited liberty from their ancestors, to transmit the possession unimpaired to their descendants; but, the loss of a single franchise may be compensated, and abuses of power, though frequent, may be resisted, without recourse to arms, so long as there are channels

through which the injured may obtain redress. Should these be choaked up, and in danger of being totally closed, it is then the unquestionable right of all men who value their privileges, to prepare other means for their defence.

If we consider the state of the government at the period when Lord Russell was executed, we shall see that it had totally changed its nature. The very means by which the crown may be lawfully resisted, had been either taken away, or converted into instruments for raising a new edifice of arbitrary power. These means are, the parliament, the courts of justice, and the press. The parliament had been dissolved two years before, with an apparent determination never to call another; and, should their assistance be ever wanted, the surrender of the charters gave so commanding an influence to the crown, that their remonstrances would be no longer formidable. Accordingly, king James found, in the parliament which he assembled upon his coming to the throne, a willing and humble tool.

The courts of justice, where judges were appointed and displaced at the king's pleasure, and juries were returned without regard either to law or decency, had become more subservient to the court than those of France, a country in which despotism was openly established. In London, where justice had long been neglected, in the struggle of the rival parties, the Tories were now completely triumphant; and there was no doubt that the promoters of the Exclusion Bill would not receive free and impartial justice.

The press also, the last refuge of the worshippers of freedom, had become a fortress of her enemies. The writings of the Whigs were suppressed, and calumnies against them published, in violation and in contempt of the laws. That such was the system of government, has been fully made out by the facts before detailed; and, to crown all, in order to afford time for the new system to acquire stability, a pension was received from a foreign power, which defrayed the most urgent expenses of the court.

So many measures, all tending to the same end, constituted no less a change in the English constitution, than was effected by the republicans when they beheaded Charles the First, and proclaimed the Commonwealth: and, had Charles the Second lived, or had James not obstinately persevered in his attachment to popery, there can be little doubt that 1681 would

1681 would now be looked upon as the era of a revolution, which established in England the unlimited monarchy of the Stuarts.

These considerations are sufficient, it appears to me, to justify the alarm which Lord Russell felt for his country, and his wish to form a party against the dangerous pretensions of the royal brothers. But, in all cases of resistance, not only must the justice of the cause be considered, but also the probability of success. Prudence is, in this instance, more perhaps than in any other, a moral duty; for, by a mistake in calculation, the lives of thousands may be hazarded, and the chains of the people more completely rivetted. The magnitude of such a crime, and the inviting form under which it appears to the most honourable minds, are the only excuse for the severity of those laws which condemn him who is guilty of it, to forfeit, not only his life, but the honours and property which have descended to his family.

## THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF GAS-LIGHTING:

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### THEORY OF LUMINOSITY.

SUCH flame\* as issues from any body that is submitted to the action of fire,† consists of that matter which, if col-

\* Gaseous matter in vehement motion.

† Intense atomic motion.

lected, is known by the term *hydrogen gas*, which is more or less pure, according to the matter used for its production, and the circumstances under which it is generated. Should the circumstances under which the combustion of such inflammable matter is carried on, be favourable, the flame will be perfect and brilliant; but, if the combustion be incomplete, part of the matter, capable of furnishing light and heat, will pass off in smoke: it therefore follows, that, wherever much soot is found, we are to conclude that the body generating it had not been used to the best advantage. Whenever coal, or other inflammable matter, is used in its natural or crude state, it seldom happens that combustion is carried on advantageously.

By observing the flame of a common candle carefully, we shall perceive that the colour of it is not uniformly alike; the lower part, next to the cup formed in the tallow, where the distillatory process is carried on, is always blue; the centre or middle part, contiguous to the wick, is opaque; the exterior, to the same height, bright and luminous; as it is also to the top, immediately after the candle is snuffed: but, when the flame becomes lengthened, and the top of the wick has a fungus-like appearance, the apex will be of a reddish or brownish colour.

Flame is vapour in an ignited state; and that part only of such vapour which is in contact with the air, can be inflamed. The flame of a candle may be considered as a cone of fire, the hollow part of which is vapour, and such hollow part is not inflamed. It is precisely the same case with that part of the matter emitted by a candle, when lighted, which surrounds the wick, which has before been adverted to, when speaking of the flame exhibited at the mouths of furnaces,—when compared with the want of oxygen within, which renders complete combustion there almost impossible.

### OF ARTIFICIAL LIGHT.

Of whatever substance the instrument for yielding light is composed, it is required to be rendered volatile, before flame can be produced; for this purpose, however, it is not necessary to volatilize much of the matter at a time; a very small portion of it will be sufficient to afford a useful light. A candle, or a lamp, contains sufficient combustible matter to last several hours. Either is furnished with a wick; and, by its action, the operation of generating light is effected.

In using the lamp, the oil should be such



such as will readily inflame, and the wick of sufficient capacity to convey to the place of combustion, by capillary attraction (*ascension*,) such quantity of oil as, by admixture with the oxygen of the air, will be completely consumed. By this attraction (*ascension*,) the oil continually flows to the laboratory, where the decomposing process is carried on.

On a candle being first lighted, such a degree of heat is given to the wick as is sufficient to melt the tallow, which is formed into a kind of cup, where it is decomposed. It is in this part that the carburetted hydrogen gas and vapour are mixed with the air, and yield a bluish flame. This, however, communicates so much heat to the higher part of the gas evolved, as to give it a yellow tinge. As the tallow melts, and becomes decomposed, by the action of the wick, a fresh supply continues to be given.

The upper part of the wick, which is surrounded by the flame, becomes black, owing to part of the carbon and hydrogen entering into its composition having been acted upon by combustion, whilst the wick itself is defended from the action of the air by the flame surrounding it. That, from this circumstance, it owes its protection, there cannot be a doubt; for when, by the consumption of the tallow, the wick becomes too long to support itself in a vertical position, and the top projects beyond the flame, (which will invariably be the case when it deviates from a perpendicular line,) it will no sooner be exposed to the action of the air than it will burn, and soon be converted to ashes.

Part of the tallow which is volatilized is not burnt, but, passing through the centre of the flame, it is not acted upon by the oxygen of the surrounding air; it passes off in smoke; hence it follows, when the wick and flame are large, there is proportionately greater waste of combustible material than when the wick and flame are small. Indeed, when a candle is made with a wick of a single thread, though it yields but a very small flame, yet such flame is not only peculiarly bright, but free from smoke; whilst, on the contrary, in common lamps, where a very large wick is used, the smoke is very considerable, and tends to lessen the strength of light which, from the quantity of matter used, might naturally be expected. As, in the process of combustion of candles, the fluid tallow is contained in the cup formed at their top, it follows, that the

thickness of the wick is a circumstance requiring attention; for, if the wick be not of sufficient capacity for carrying off the fused material as rapidly as it becomes so, it will run down the sides of them. This inconvenience, arising from the nature of the material of which the candle may be formed, it would appear that, as wax is not fusible at so low a temperature as tallow, the wick of the latter description of candle may be made much slighter than that of the former. A candle, with a thick wick, on being first lighted, and snuffed short, yields a flame perfect and luminous, unless the diameter of the wick be very great; in such case, the middle of the flame will be opaque; for, as has before been observed, for want of a proper supply of oxygen, the combustion cannot be completely effected. But, when the wick becomes lengthened, the distance between its top and the top of the flame given out, will be shortened; and therefore, the tallow which is decomposed having a shorter distance of flame to pass through, is not entirely burnt, and that part which is not so, passes off in smoke. The wick, if not snuffed, continues to lengthen, till, unable to support the accumulation of soot which is formed round the top of it, (and which arises from combustion being imperfect,) it falls on one side, allowing the air to act upon it; or, otherwise, the upper part of the flame given out, is so shortened as to expose the top of the wick to the air; however, the combustion which is requisite to snuff it, is not, in this case, sufficient to do so. Here the portion of tallow carried off by the lengthened wick is too great to be entirely burnt, and it takes off a considerable portion of the heat of the flame, as it assumes a state of elasticity. This process tends to diminish combustion, whilst a greater supply of tallow in a fluid state causes soot to accumulate at the top of the wick. When much soot has been there deposited, the candle does not give more than a sixth or an eighth of the light which the materials submitted to combustion, if properly accomplished, would generally produce, and it is from this circumstance, that tallow candles so frequently require snuffing.

When wax candles are used, it is found that as the wick lengthens, the intensity of light decreases; but then, as the wick is very thin, in comparison with that of a tallow candle, it sooner falls from the middle of the flame; and the top becoming exposed to the air, is burnt off.

off. When the wick of a wax-candle is in the centre of the flame, it is not of sufficient magnitude to cause the diameter of that flame to be so enlarged as to prevent the air from having access to it. It follows, from what has been observed, that as wax is with difficulty fused, a large quantity of it may be burnt by means of a very small wick, which, of course, is pliant, and soon becomes unable to support itself in a vertical position. This position it no sooner loses, than the act of snuffing is performed, by the method just noticed, with greater precision than can be done mechanically.

#### VARIETIES OF COAL.

Having spoken somewhat at length on the component parts of coal, as well as on various theories of stratification, perhaps, by dividing the different kinds of pit-coal into fewer classes, the classification will be simplified, and rendered more familiar to the reader. Pit-coal may be divided into three classes, according to the proportions of the component parts.

*Coals of the First Class.*—Such coals as are chiefly composed of bitumen, are to be considered as belonging to the first class.

*Second Class of Coals.*—Those which contain a lesser proportion of bitumen and more charcoal, comprehend the varieties of the second class.

*Third Class of Coals.*—The third class are such as contain very little bitumen, but are chiefly composed of charcoal, chemically combined with different earths.

*Remarks upon the First Class.*—Those coals which come under the first class, light without difficulty, and burn with a bright and yellowish white blaze during the whole process of combustion. They do not cake nor require stirring; neither do they produce cinders, but are reduced to white ashes. Coals of this class are apt to throw out splinters whilst burning; but that may, in a great measure, be obviated by wetting them prior to their being used. At the head of this class is to be placed *cannel-coal*. Those of Lancashire, and such as are obtained on the western coast of this island, also belong to it. It sometimes occurs in the coal-pits of Durham and Northumberland. Most of the varieties of Scotch coal, may also be considered as forming part of it, and more particularly the *splent*, which is an inferior kind of *cannel coal*.

Although this class of coal generally produces gas in considerable quantity,

it is doubtful whether it be worthy of the gas-light manufacturer's notice, and particularly in London; for, when it is submitted to distillation, there is no product of coke, as in coals of the second class; and, what is worse, the gas evolved is of so much greater specific gravity, that, unless the gas-holder be worked at an extremely light pressure, it will be highly offensive in the houses where it is consumed. It is not so easily purified as the gas procured from Bewicke and Crastor's Wallsend coal, nor is it so beneficial.

Some of the varieties of this class are, the Hartleys, Wylam, Tanfield Moor, Eighton Main, Cowper's Main, Blythe, and Pontops. Of these, Hartleys and Wylam are well adapted for heating retorts; the latter in particular. Tanfield Moor, though generating a very large proportion of heat, is not so; it is so very subject to clinker, and to destroy the grate-bars, as well as the retorts and fire-work, as to render it very unfit for such purpose.

*Remarks upon the Second Class.*—Coals of the second class do not burn with so bright a flame as the former. The flame of these coals is of a yellowish tinge. After lying some time on the fire, they become soft, and swell: they then cake, and produce tubercles, from whence issue small jets of flame. When coals of this kind are burnt in an open grate, the passage of the air through them is prevented by the top of the fire caking and closely adhering. The consequence which follows is this: the lower part of the coal contained in the grate is consumed, and leaves a hollow, whence, if the upper part were not occasionally broken, the fire would go out. These coals produce a smaller proportion of ashes than coals of the first class. They are of a greyish or reddish colour, according to the quality of the earthy parts of which the coal may be constituted. They produce hard grey cinders, which, being burnt over again with fresh coals, produce a very strong heat. The colour of the flame produced from this class of coal, is not so white and brilliant as that emitted by *cannel-coal*, and those of similar properties; and that portion of it which is given out, after the bitumen it contains is disengaged, is of a pale blue colour. The gas which they produce, during this part of the process of combustion, is a mixture of oxide of carbon, hydrogen, and carbonic acid. The coke produced from this class of coal,



coal, during the process of generating gas therefrom, when carbonization is properly carried on, is well adapted for domestic and culinary purposes; and, when such coal is manufactured into coke in the ordinary way, it is calculated to be used in the furnaces of iron-founders, and for other metallurgical operations. Coals of this class are, in the market, denominated *strong burning coals*. The coals which may be named under it, are Bewicke and Crastor's Wallsend, Bewicke's Wallsend, Russel's Wallsend, Bell's Wallsend, Brown's Wallsend, Wear Wallsend, Manor Wallsend, Wellington Main, Temple Main, Heaton Main, Killingworth Main, Headsworth, Hebburn Seam, Hutton Seam, and Nesham. Smiths prefer the smaller kind of this class of coals before any other, in consequence of its affording the greatest heat, the best cinders, and standing a strong blast. Swansea coals may be considered as belonging to this class. Some of the varieties contain pyrites, others thin layers of lime-stone and shells: these are found amongst the ashes they afford as slates and stones. When submitted to distillation, a greater heat is required than is necessary for decomposing coals of the first class: but the gas which they afford is easily purified, and is generally better adapted for use than that obtained from coals of the first class. The aqueous fluid which passes over, during the process, contains sulphate, carbonate, and hydrosulphuret of ammonia. When coals of this kind are mixed with those of the first class, in the proportion of two-thirds of the former with one-third of the latter, an excellent fuel is thereby formed; and if, in making the mixture, the proportion of coals of the first class be increased, the fuel will be more easily managed, and will burn with greater cheerfulness; but then its durability will decrease in a like proportion.

*Remarks upon the Third Class.*—Coals of this class require a very high temperature to bring them into ignition; they do not burn till wholly ignited; and then some of the varieties produce a very weak flame: others, neither yield flame nor smoke, and merely produce a red heat, like that which is generated by charcoal, when under combustion. They contain a very considerable portion of charcoal; they produce only a small quantity of ashes, but these are generally very heavy. When distilled in close vessels, they do not produce much tar; and that portion which is disengaged, comes over in a state nearly resembling

melted pitch. Under that process, they also yield a gaseous fluid composed of gaseous oxide of carbon, hydrogen gas, and a considerable portion of sulphuretted hydrogen. Considering the nature of the different varieties of this class of coals, it can hardly be expected, that it would be profitable to use them for generating coal-gas. The Kilkenny, Welsh, and Stone coal, are varieties forming this class.

#### QUANTITY OF COALS IN GREAT BRITAIN.

In order to form an idea of the probable time that Great Britain may be supplied with coal from the mines of Durham and Northumberland, we are to consider, that the seams of coals now worked in those counties are equal to a bed twenty miles long by fifteen miles broad, and that the average thickness of this bed is one yard and a half: also, that from one-fourth to one-sixth is sufficient to be left as props for supporting the tops of the mines. In making our calculations, suppose we state one-fifth to be left for that purpose. Then

$$15 \times 1760 = 26,400 \text{ yards,}$$

$$20 \times 1760 = 35,200 \text{ yards, and}$$

$26,400 \times 35,200 \times 1\frac{1}{2} = 1,393,920,000$  cubic yards of coal contained in the mines above-mentioned. From this we are to deduct one-fifth for pillars to support the roof, thus:

$$1,393,920,000 \div 5 = 278,784,000, \text{ and}$$

$$1,393,920,000 - 278,784,000 =$$

1,115,136,000 cubic yards of coal, which may, in process of time, be brought to market; and, as each cubic yard of the various species of coal produced from these mines is known to be equal to one ton, consequently, the number of cubic yards and of tons is equal. Now, as it appears, from the register, that the total annual consumption of coals, from Newcastle and Sunderland, is 2,300,000 chaldrons of 27 cwts. each, it follows, that the annual consumption in tons, is 3,105,000.

The total quantity of coals which these mines are capable of supplying, having been stated at 1,115,136,000 tons; therefore, if that number be divided by the tons annually consumed, the quotient expresses the number of years such annual supply can thence be given; thus  $1,115,136,000 \div 3,105,000 = 359$  nearly; and such number of years they will afford a source of consumption.

#### MANAGEMENT OF A COAL FIRE.

When pit-coal is used for fuel in open fire-places, the quantity of heat generated thereby depends very considerably upon the fire being properly managed. If it be allowed to burn clear, it will throw

out much heat; but, if the coal be heaped upon it in such a way as prevents a current of air from passing through the mass, it will be smothered up, and produce a very small proportion; most of the heat will be lost by its being employed to give elasticity to the smoke, which rises in great abundance. The combustion, under such circumstances, must be very incomplete; for the carburetted hydrogen gas will be driven up the chimney uninflamed, and therefore the fuel will be used with little benefit.

By paying attention to the quantity of coals put on the fire at once, and avoiding smothering it up, much will be contributed towards cleanliness and comfort; and more particularly so, if the following rules for properly managing it be observed:

1st. Stirring of a fire is of use, because it makes a hollow, where the air, being rarefied by the adjacent heat, the surrounding air rushes into this hollow, and gives life and support to the fire, and carries the flame with it.

2d. Never stir a fire when fresh coals are laid on, particularly when they are very small, because they immediately fall into the hollow place, and therefore ruin the fire.

3d. Always keep the bottom bars clear.

4th. Never begin to stir the fire at the top, unless when the bottom is quite clear, and the top only wants breaking.

#### COAL-GAS.

When pit-coal is burnt in an open fire-place, it emits flame, which is occasionally exhibited in streams of peculiar brightness. This flame is coal-gas in a state of combustion. But, besides this gas, there are expelled from coal, by the action of heat, an aqueous ammoniacal vapour, (which, on being condensed, forms liquid ammonia,) a thick fluid nearly resembling tar, and some non-inflammable gases. The wavering and the changing of the colour of flame proceeding from a coal-fire, is occasioned by the variety of products which coal affords; and, as these are evolved, we have, at one time, streams of brilliant light, at another, clouds of dense and aqueous vapour, thrown off as smoke. Seeing then, that when coals are burnt in the ordinary way, we have evident proofs that they contain inflammable gas, which, if collected and properly applied, would serve as a substitute for the light obtained by using candles or oil, together with other valuable products; we must be aware, that, should they be distilled in close vessels, the various parts of which they are formed may be collected. Such part of the coal

as is bituminous, will melt out, and be exhibited in the form of tar. That which contains ammoniacal salts, will be thrown off as vapour; and, on condensation, will appear as an amber-coloured fluid, more or less charged with ammonia, according to the circumstances under which the distillation may have been carried on, and the quality of the coal. Whilst the above products are evolved, a considerable quantity of carburetted hydrogen gas, and some uninflamable gases, are also generated. These, having all been freed from the coal by the action of heat, and collected in their respective reservoirs, its base, which is a carbonaceous substance known by the name of coke, remains in the retort. The coal-gas, being freed from the sulphuretted hydrogen and non-inflammable gases, is fit for use, and may be forced out of the gas-holder, where it is collected, to any distance, by means of cast-iron pipes, laid underground; from whence, smaller pipes, of wrought iron and copper, convey it to the respective houses where it is to be burnt. At the extremity of the pipes are fixed burners, to which, by means of stop-cocks, the gas is admitted; and, through orifices made in the burners, it escapes, and is ignited for the purpose of affording light. Thus, from pit-coal, an article produced in considerable quantities in this country, may be obtained a substitute for light which is afforded by using wax, tallow, or oil, but of a superior quality, and at considerably less expense.

#### DIFFERENT LIGHTS COMPARED.

If we compare the theory of the production of gas-light with the theory of the production of artificial light by means of candles or of lamps, we shall instantly perceive that the principles are similar; for, in candles or lamps, the wick bears a like situation to that of coal, when submitted to distillation in a close vessel. The wick of a candle serves to convey the melted tallow, by capillary attraction, to where it is to be consumed. It is there decomposed, and forms carburetted hydrogen gas; as this is made use of, a fresh supply is constantly kept up, which maintains the flame. By a parity of reasoning, it appears, that the burning of oil in a lamp depends on similar circumstances; for, the tubes formed by the wick, transmit the inflammable gas through them in the same way that the heated retort generates coal-gas. The oil of a lamp is drawn up through the wick, and is formed into that carburetted hydrogen gas from whence proceeds illumination. After considering these matters, the question,



tion, What does the gas-light system attempt? may naturally be put; and the reply might be given in words something to the following effect:—The gas-light scheme proposes to generate such quantities of gas as may be wanted for supplying that district with artificial light where the works may be situated, by means of a sufficient number of retorts and gas-holders for the purpose; and that this gas is the same sort of material as the flame of a candle or a lamp. That the difference between the one mode and the other, is simply this: when coal-gas is used as a substitute for light afforded by the combustion of tallow or of oil, the distillatory process for lighting streets, nay, whole towns and large cities, is carried on in one place, perhaps far from where the light may be wanted; whilst, by the action of candles or lamps, the process is performed wherever such candle or lamp may be used, namely, at their respective wicks.

#### HISTORY.

That a permanently elastic and inflammable æriform fluid is evolved from pit-coal, appears to have been first ascertained experimentally by the Rev. Dr. Clayton. An account of his discovery was published in the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society, vol. xli. for the year 1739, from whence the following extract is made: "I got some coal, and distilled it in a retort in an open fire. At first there came over only phlegm, afterwards a black oil, and then likewise a spirit arose, which I could no ways condense; but it forced my lute, or broke my glasses. Once, when it had forced my lute, coming close thereto in order to try to repair it, I observed that the spirit which issued out caught fire at the flame of the candle, and continued burning with violence as it issued out in a stream, which I blew out and lighted again alternately for several times. I then had a mind to try if I could save any of this spirit; in order to which I took a turbinated receiver, and, putting a candle to the pipe of the receiver, whilst the spirit arose, I observed that it caught flame, and continued burning at the end of the pipe, though you could not discern what fed the flame. I then blew it out and lighted it again several times; after which I fixed a bladder, squeezed and void of air, to the pipe of the receiver. The oil and phlegm descended into the receiver, but the spirit, still ascending, blew up the bladder. I then filled a good many bladders therewith, and might have filled an inconceivable number more;

for the spirit continued to rise for several hours, and filled the bladders almost as fast as a man could have blown them with his mouth; and yet the quantity of coals distilled was inconsiderable."

But the applying of coal-gas, for the purposes of illumination, is of more recent date, and the merit of bringing it forward is claimed, and with justice, by Mr. Murdoch.

The general nature of gas-light illumination was exhibited by Mr. Winsor, at the Lyceum Theatre, in London, in the years 1803 and 1804; but the apparatus, by the means of which he obtained coal-gas, and the mode of purification which he adopted, he kept a secret. He shewed the manner of conveying the gas through the house, and exhibited various devices for chandeliers and burners. Instead of the copper fittings, which experience has since taught to be the most useful, he proposed long flexible tubes, brought from the ceiling of the wall, to the ends of which were attached different descriptions of burners. He proved, experimentally, that the flame of coal-gas, when properly managed, (by allowing no more gas to pass the burner than would be entirely consumed,) produces no smoke; and that it is not, as the flame of candles and lamps, subject to emit sparks; therefore not so dangerous; nor is it so liable to be put out by sudden gusts of wind, or by heavy rain.\*

Mr. Winsor took out a patent in May, 1804, for combining the saving and purifying of coal-gas, for obtaining ammonia, tar, and other products of pit-coal, with the manufacture of a superior kind of coke; since which time he has taken out another patent, for further improvements in the processes.

—Mr. Northern, of Leeds, in the year 1805, called the public attention to applying coal-gas for the purpose of producing light, instead of candles, &c., an account of which was given in the Monthly Magazine for April, 1805.

About this time, Mr. Samuel Clegg, of Manchester, engineer, communicated to the Society of Arts an account of his method of lighting up manufactories with gas, for which he received the silver medal. To the exertions of this gentleman, the gas-light manufacturer is indebted

\* Mr. W. had ruined the system in the public mind, by his empirical advertisements; and its restoration was in a degree effected by some notices in this Miscellany.

indebted for various improvements in apparatus and machinery.

The rapidity with which the gas-light scheme has since extended, has been almost beyond example in any other; for, not only manufactories, but many of the principal towns, in this and other countries, have been lighted with gas, together with much the greater part of the metropolis.

The application of gas-lights was pointed out in France before it was publicly introduced into England. M. Le Bon had a house entirely lighted up with gas in Paris in the winter of 1802, which was witnessed with admiration by a considerable number of persons. He obtained a patent from the French government, for the art of producing light from wood burnt in close vessels.

Mr. Murdoch, in the year 1808, presented the Royal Society with his account of the application of coal-gas; for which the Society complimented him with Count Rumford's medal.

#### COST OF COAL GAS-LIGHT.

Mr. Ackermann, print-seller, &c. in the Strand, for upwards of four years lighted the whole of his establishment, together with his dwelling-house, entirely with gas, for forty pounds five shillings per annum, by means of a small apparatus erected on his premises; and he states the annual expense of lighting the same, prior to using the gas-lights, to have been one hundred and sixty pounds; so that, it appears, the balance in favour of using the gas-lights was one hundred and nineteen pounds fifteen shillings, for one year. But, since the line of "The chartered Gas-Light and Coke Company's" main was laid along the Strand, he declined generating gas for his own use, and has been supplied therewith from the Company's works in Peter-street, Westminster.

Mr. Cook, manufacturer of metal toys, at Birmingham, has stated, that, for four-pence *per diem*, he generated as much gas as afforded light equivalent to what was obtained by burning as many candles as cost him three shillings; besides a saving of thirty pounds per annum in candles, oil, and cotton, for soldering, which, since the adoption of gas in his premises, has been performed solely by its flame. In short, that he saves annually thirty pounds out of the fifty pounds which his lights formerly cost him.

Messrs. Lloyd, of Queen-street, Southwark, thimble-manufacturers and whitesmiths, have also used the gas-light for soldering and other purposes,

their apparatus being upon a very small scale. From their statement, it appears, they gained, as a profit upon every bushel of coals distilled, the sum of eight shillings and four-pence, if the light afforded was compared with the light of tallow candles, formerly used.

#### OF RETORTS.

The retorts used for the distillation of pit-coal are of different shapes in different establishments; they are either circular, semicircular, elliptical, or square. There is, however, another description of retort, for which a patent has been obtained, and to the manufacturer of coal-gas it is known by the term "rotary retort."

#### IMPROVED RETORTS.

In 1817, Mr. A. Rackhouse adopted a plan for heating retorts of cylindrical shape set in ovens. This plan has since been known to the manufacturer by the name of the "oven-plan." His first experiment was made at one of the gas-light establishments in London, by heating one retort in an oven. It was reported to heat very uniformly, and at little expense. At the same establishment he next set two in one oven, then three, and afterwards five. And it is but proper to observe, that cylindrical retorts set in fives, on the oven-plan, is now by far the most general mode adopted at the different gas-light establishments.

Although Mr. Rackhouse appears to have been the first person who did actually set retorts in ovens, yet, to Mr. John Malam, engineer, in the employment of the chartered gas-light company, at their works, in Peter-street, Westminster, very great credit is due, for having submitted to the directory of that company, without any knowledge of what Mr. Rackhouse's plan was, one of his own, for heating retorts in ovens, but which, in point of advantages, very much exceeds the former.

M. Maiben, of Perth, invented a retort for distilling coal, by exposing it to the action of heat in thin strata. The retorts he made use of were of a square shape, and of a size sufficient to carbonize twenty-five pounds of coal, when spread in a layer of about two inches deep. The coal was introduced into the retort by means of a sheet-iron box, which was charged and slid-in whenever the gas was extracted from the former charge, which, under such management, was generally accomplished in two hours.

But this description of retort, being much too small to be serviceable in large establishments,



establishments, led Mr. Clegg to construct a retort of sufficient capacity for carbonizing about one chaldron of coals per diem.

The first of them which was ever put up, (being eight feet six inches in diameter,) as were also the second and third, (each of twelve feet six inches diameter,) were worked under my observation. Each of these retorts contained fifteen boxes, which slid into the retort upon iron arms. Whilst the arms could be kept up, they were worked without much difficulty. The coal remained in the retort six hours, but was only one-third of that time exposed to the action of a red heat. Five boxes, having passed that, waited for the coal in the five boxes over the red heat being decomposed, which, on being done, the retort was opened, and those five boxes which had passed the red heat, were drawn, and fresh ones introduced upon the arms they had occupied, which process brought the five from the red heat to the situation they had occupied, to wait there till the coal in the next five was decomposed, when the operation of change was again repeated; so that there were continually five boxes lately introduced into the retort, waiting to be brought over the red heat, five over the red heat, and five others ready for being withdrawn from the retort. Had not the expense of erecting retorts of this description been very considerable, and the wear and tear enormous, they would doubtless have been adopted in that establishment where they were first tried; but both were so much against them, that every idea of using them was there entirely relinquished. It is but justice to state, that those retorts produced gas at the rate of upwards of fifteen thousand cubic feet per chaldron (twenty-seven hundred weight) of coals; that carbonization was carried on at about sixteen or eighteen per cent.; that the increase of coke on coal carbonized, was at the rate of fifty per cent.; and, that the process of carbonizing, under those circumstances, was accomplished in about six hours.

To overcome the difficulties arising from the use of retorts such as I have just mentioned, Mr. Malam proposed that elliptical retorts should be adopted, their length being about six feet six inches, their transverse diameter twenty inches, and their conjugate diameter ten inches. From retorts of such shape, there was every probability that the results, as far as related to the quantity of gas and coke obtained from a

chaldron of coals, would be very similar to those from the rotary retort; whilst the expense of setting them, was but little more than would have been incurred by setting an equal number of cylindrical retorts, and not near so much as it would require to set such number as would carbonize equal quantities of coals in equal time. The elliptical retorts had, however, one great advantage over the cylindrical ones,—they were worked off in half the time; and five of them in action, worked with one bushel and a half of coals to each, during a four hours' charge, would produce as much gas in a day as ten cylindrical retorts, worked at eight hours' charges, with two bushels to each retort every charge. The elliptical retorts, on which my observations were made, were set in an oven, and heated by one fire. They heated remarkably regular, and I can have no hesitation in declaring it to be my belief, that these retorts would have lasted ten or twelve months, had they been constantly used during such period; for, after being ninety-four days in action, and constantly at a bright red heat, it became necessary to remove them, to make room for part of a new building. They were then taken down, but so little injured by the fire, that two out of the five were but barely discoloured, and the remaining three not fallen out of shape. At the very time that these retorts were in action, cylindrical retorts, set on the oven-plan, were almost always entirely burnt out in less than two months.

TABLE, exhibiting at one view the advantages and disadvantages which arise to the manufacturer from the use of different kinds of retorts variously worked.

Durability in Days.	Usual Charge in bushels of 84lbs. each.	Time allowed for working off one Charge.	Gas produced from one chaldron, the retort being worked at a bright red heat	Per Centage, at which Carbonization is carried on.
			Cubic Feet.	
270	2	8	10,000	20
180	1½	6	9,000	30
180	1¼	4	8,500	30
180	2	8	9,000	25
120	1½	6	8,500	33
120	1¼	4	8,500	35
180	2	8	10,000	25 to 50
120	1½	6	9,000	do.
120	1¼	4	8,500	do.
63	2	8	10,000	16 to 40
42	1½	5	9,500	do.
270	1½	4	15,000	30
300	1½	6	10,000	25

When

When cylindrical retorts are set two to one fire, so as to produce, when worked at a bright red heat, in the proportion of 10,000 cubic feet of gas to a chaldron, if the temperature be decreased, they will not produce much more than 8,000 cubic feet to the chaldron; but their durability will be extended to twelve months; and such decrease of temperature, under any of the arrangements exhibited in the foregoing table, when working cylindrical retorts, will cause a proportionate decrease in the quantity of gas generated, and an increased durability to the distillatory vessel.

Whilst cylindrical retorts, worked at a low temperature, are producing but 8,000 cubic feet of gas from a chaldron of coals in eight hours, the rotary retorts would, in six hours, produce from 15 to 16,000 cubic feet of gas from the same quantity of coal; and the elliptical retort from 14 to 15,000 in four hours.

When cylindrical retorts are set on the flue plan, and four heated by one fire at the back, should they be fitted with my apparatus for removing a defective one, they would always work eight hours' charges of two bushels to each retort at 25 per cent., producing 10,000 cubic feet of gas to the chaldron; and, when worn out, might be replaced for about 7l. each.

The mode of carrying on the process of carbonization, is by means of elliptical retorts, for which purpose it would be difficult to find a better. The elliptical retort combines in it the durability of the cylindrical one with the advantages

obtained by exposing the coal thinly to the action of heat upon a large surface; and therefore, when it is used, the process will be accomplished in about four hours. Upon retorts of this description I have had opportunities of making observations, the result of which leads me to pronounce such well adapted for promoting the interests of the manufacturer. Five elliptical retorts are capable of carbonizing forty-five bushels of coals *per diem*, and of generating, from that quantity of coal, about seventeen thousand cubic feet of gas, or at the rate of fourteen thousand cubic feet per chaldron. From one chaldron of coal, when elliptical retorts are used, will be produced a chaldron and a half of saleable coke. The elliptical retorts on which my observations were made, were set five to one fire, and so well was the heat disposed of, that from one end to the other they remained, whilst in action, at a bright cherry redness; being kept so night and day for more than ninety days, they were not much injured: from their appearance, there could be little doubt but they would remain serviceable nearly twelve months. They were charged and drawn in the usual way; but, notwithstanding the charging and drawing was more frequent, the stokers found it more easy to work them than a like number of cylindrical retorts. Their shape allowed room to rake-out the coke more rapidly than could be done from those of cylindrical form, and the coke, not being so compact when produced in the elliptical retort, required considerably less labour to clear it from thence.

**ELLIPTICAL RETORTS.—Distillatory process: four hours.**

WEEK. DAY.	Retorts in Use. No.	COALS.				GAS.	
		Submitted to the Distillatory Process.		Used for Heating the Retort.		Produced.	Proportion obtained from one Chaldron of Coal, 27 cwt.
		Ch.	Bu.	Ch.	Bu.	Cubic Feet.	Cubic Feet.
Monday .....	27	6	28	2	6	94,987	14,000
Tuesday .....	37	9	7	3	0	128,597	14,000
Wednesday ....	35	8	26	2	30	122,188	14,000
Thursday .....	38	9	13	3	0	131,176	14,000
Friday .....	36	9	4	5	0	127,696	14,000
Saturday .....	36	9	4	3	0	127,536	14,000
Sunday .....	36	8	34	2	27	125,487	14,000
		61	8	19	27	857,667	14,000

**Expenditure.**

61 ch. 8. bu. Wallsend coals,  
carbonized, at 51s. 6d. per  
chaldron ..... £157 12 0

19 ch. 27 bu. Hartleys coal,  
used for heating the retorts,  
at 42s. per ch. .... 41 9 6  
Total expenditure.. £199 1 6  
Products.



Products.

Coke, 90 chaldrons, at 22s.			
per ch. ....	£	99	0 0
Breeze, 5 chaldrons, at 18s.			
per ch. ....		4	10 0
Tar, 3½ tons, at 8l. per ton ....		28	0 0
Ammoniacal liquor, 1,200 gal-			
lons, at 3d. per gallon.....		15	0 0
Gas, 857,667 cubic feet, at			
15s. per th. ....		643	5 0
Total, for products...	£	789	15 0

PURIFYING PROCESS.

During the process of decomposing coals in close vessels, it is found, that, on their being heated to a certain degree, a part of the carbon of which they are formed unites with part of the oxygen, and produces carbonic acid; this, by means of caloric, is formed into carbonic acid gas. Whilst this process is going on, a part of the hydrogen of the coal is combined with another portion of carbon and caloric, which forms carburétted hydrogen gas. Olifant gas, carbonic oxide, hydrogen, and sulphuretted hydrogen, are also produced. According as the component parts of the coal submitted to distillation varies, so will the quantities of these products vary also.

When the gas produced from coal is burnt without being purified, (that is, deprived of the sulphuretted hydrogen and carbonic acid gas which it contains,) or if it be not properly purified, it throws out sparks, and produces a sulphureous acid, owing to the oxygen of the air uniting with the sulphur burnt with the gas. Such gas sends forth a suffocating odour, that is not only highly offensive, but injurious to health. Its levity carries it to the uppermost part of the room where it is burnt, and there it is easily perceived. It tarnishes all metallic substances, and discolours paintings, wherever metallic oxides may have been used in their execution.

The general way of freeing it from sulphuretted hydrogen and carbonic acid, and rendering it fit for use, hitherto adopted, has been, by passing it through a solution of lime and water of the consistence of cream. It may also be purified, by passing it through very dilute solutions of subacetate of lead, green sulphate of iron, or hyperoxymuriate of lime.

For the purification of coal-gas, when it is manufactured in the large way, various methods have been adopted. The following are those most noticed:

1st. By passing it through lime in solution.

2d. By allowing it to be acted upon by lime in a semi-fluid state.

3d. By pressing it through dry lime.

4th. By passing it through red-hot tubes, into which are introduced clippings of iron.

For the effectual purification of coal-gas, in establishments of magnitude, more than one purifying vessel must be employed; and we are now to inquire which is the best arrangement for placing two, three, or more purifiers, so that they may be the most effective, and at the same time the most economical. The best arrangement for these vessels which has fallen under my notice, as well as the construction of the purifier itself, was effected by Mr. Malam, of the Westminster gas-works.

The gas enters into the lowermost purifier in the most crude state; where, having been acted upon, it rises into the second in a purer state, and from thence into the top one. Under such circumstances, it follows, that the charge in the lowermost vessel is rendered useless first: on its being so, it is turned off by opening a cock; whilst this is performing, the gas generated has to pass through two vessels, before it can enter into the gas-holder; but, in the single purifier, during the time of charging, the gas passes into the gas-holder in an impure state, thus, by mixture with the pure gas, deteriorating its quality. The bottom purifier being emptied, the mixture in the second is turned into it, and that of the top into the second, when the top one is re-charged. The lowermost vessel then always contains the mixture which has been most acted upon by the gas.

To go further into detail, on the means of purifying coal-gas by passing it through lime in solution, would be quite unnecessary; for, though by different operators different-shaped vessels might be used, yet, as all must allow the gas to pass through a sufficient column of the purifying mixture for the action to be effectual, so long as that is accomplished, the manufacturer's views are answered. That this is the best means for purification hitherto adopted on the large scale, there is hardly a shadow of doubt; and, when the lime-refuse can be got rid off, it stands far above any other that has yet been tried.

In some cases, however, the refuse-lime has been found so troublesome, that means have been tried for purifying the gas by lime in a semifluid state, thus decreasing the quantity of this objectionable

tionable matter; but the vessel which my observations were made upon, was found inadequate for accomplishing the purpose of purification.

We come now to speak of a mode of purification, differing in principle and practice from any we have yet mentioned. The manner of performing the operation is, by causing the crude gas to pass through retorts of a particular description, worked at the red heat just visible by day-light. Mr. G. H. Palmer, lately in the employment of the Chartered Gas-Light and Coke Company, has obtained a patent for this invention. It is constructed of cast-iron, and it is set in brick-work, under such an arrangement as admits of its being heated to the temperature required. In no establishment can the process be carried on with less than two purifiers. In large works, it would not only require the magnitude of the purifier to be increased, but it would also be requisite to employ a greater number of purifiers also. The purifiers are of an elliptical shape, and each one is divided into two equal parts by a vertical partition, which runs along its centre, from the mouth-piece to within a few inches of its end. The mouth-piece is double, that is, it admits of two lids being applied to it, one of which is to the right of the partition we have just spoken of, and the other to the left. The lids of these mouth-pieces are secured in the ordinary way, by means of luting and cross-pieces. As it is intended that but one of these purifiers should be brought into action at one time, the apparatus is provided with the double mercurial valve, the rod of which being attached to one end of a chain, (running over a pulley,) at the other end sustaining a counter-balance weight, the gas is allowed to enter into the upper or lower purifier, as occasion may require: the valve being so contrived, that when the crude gas is admitted through it into one purifier, it is effectually excluded from the other. It is of considerable importance to the purification of gas by this mode, as well as every other, that it should have effectually undergone the process of condensation; and, as the admission of any of the condensable products into the purifier will materially tend to clog it up, and to prevent the play of affinities required in this mode of purification, the patentee advises that the pipes conducting the gas from the condenser should rise towards the purifying apparatus.

When this purifying apparatus is to

be brought into action, it is to be at such a temperature as we have already stated; not that it is essential towards effecting the purification of the gas, but tending to the preservation of the vessel. This being effected, each compartment thereof is to be half or three-fourths filled with fragments or refuse-clippings of sheet-iron, with tinned iron plates, argillaceous iron ore, iron-stone, &c. &c. It is to be noted, that whatever material may be used in this purifying vessel, such must be arranged in it so as to lie loosely together, in order that the gas may act upon as much of its area as possible, and that the sulphuretted hydrogen and carbonic acid gas may be thereby arrested. Should the black oxide of iron be used in the purifier, which appears to be preferred by Mr. Palmer, the operator should be careful as to the manner in which he disposes of it; always recollecting, that a sufficient space should be left at the end of the purifier to allow the gas to pass round the divisional partition.

The purifier being charged with any of the materials above specified, the lids are to be secured, and the valve opened, towards the one so charged, by raising or lowering the counter-balance weight of the valve, according as the upper or lower purifier may be brought into action. The gas then enters into that compartment of it which is to the left, and passing over the iron, or whatever else may be introduced round the divisional plate, is allowed to pass from the purifier by means of the pipe which is connected to the mouth-piece, which is to the right, into the hydraulic box, and thence to the gas-holder, to be stored up for use as occasion may require.

It is requisite that tests should occasionally be taken, in order that it may be known when the fragments of iron, &c., become inadequate for the purpose of purification. When they are so, the other purifier is to be charged in a similar way, the mouth-piece secured, and the valve opened into it, which, as we have before observed, will shut off the communication to that which had been in action. When this is done, let the lids of the purifier which is out of use be removed, so as to admit the atmospheric air into it, the action of which will, prior to the purifier in action being rendered inadequate to perform its office, so far restore the materials to their proper tone, by reducing the sulphuret of iron again to a metallic state, as to allow the change of



of purifier to be again effected, and the process to be carried on to advantage.

The operator is invariably to follow the mode pointed out, by using his purifiers alternately, till it is ascertained that the iron, or whatever substance may have been introduced, will no longer retain the sulphuretted hydrogen, &c. When such is the case, the contents of the purifier must be removed, and replaced by fresh material, and the process proceeded upon again in the manner described.

In situations where there is a difficulty in getting rid of the lime-refuse, Mr. Palmer's mode of purifying, we apprehend, might be adopted to advantage; and, when we consider how often such is the case, we can hardly doubt of seeing it very generally used.

#### THE GASOMETER.

The gas-holder (or, as it is more commonly though improperly called, the gasometer), is that vessel in which the purified gas is stored-up for use. It has been of various sizes and shapes: that most generally adopted in large works is from 15,000 to 20,000 cubic feet in capacity. It is a cylinder; the diameter being from thirty-three to forty-feet, and the height from eighteen to twenty-three feet.

When speaking of the gas-holder, we are to consider it as composed of two distinct parts: that is to say, a capacious inner vessel, in large works generally made of sheet-iron, which is closed at the top and open at the bottom; and a cast-iron tank, or wooden vat, of about a foot or eighteen inches greater diameter, for containing water, into which the gas-holder sinks as it is emptied of gas, and out of which its lower edge, when full, cannot rise. By this contrivance the gas is prevented from escaping.

The next subject presenting itself to notice, is, the construction of gas-holders of such dimensions as are required in large manufactories. Those containing fifteen thousand cubic feet are generally made of plate-iron, (number 16 wire gauge, weighing about 2lbs. 11oz. the square foot,) rivetted together with quarter-inch rivets seven-eighths of an inch asunder. Experience has now taught the manufacturer that he cannot construct his gas-holder too light. Instead of the cumbrous wooden frame, or weighty iron stays, that vessel consists now of nothing save the plate-iron rivetted together, and one small breadth of angle iron at the bottom and another round the top, inside, for keeping it in

form, together with six or eight small rods, which project from the eye-bolt by which the gas-holder is suspended to within about a foot of its circumference. Under this arrangement, the gas-holder is light, and consequently costs much less in the first instance; it requires a smaller balance-weight, lighter friction-wheels and pulleys; and, in short, under all its bearings, it is attended with benefits. In the construction of gas-holders of which I have been speaking, it is supposed that they are to be suspended by chains over pulleys, and worked by means of balance-weights; but, by recent improvements, the more scientific gas-light manufacturer considers the expensive framework, chains, weights, &c. as things not wanted.

Square or parallelopipedal-shaped gas-holders, appear to have been most used in the very early stages of gas-lighting. These were followed by cylindrical ones, but with encumbrances of wooden frames, or heavy iron-stays, which so loaded them as to make their action very heavy. After these was introduced a gas-holder on a rotary principle. It was invented by Mr. Clegg, and erected at the Westminster gas-works under his direction. The axis of this gas-holder is constructed of flanch pipes of ten inches diameter. It is supported at each end by carriages and friction-segments, which relieve it from a very considerable part of the friction which might otherwise be expected. From this axis radiate towards the gas-holder a number of iron stays, which, with wooden braces placed so as to form triangles, obtuse-angled at the gas-holder and acute with the axis, tend to give stability to the whole. To these braces and stays the inner circle of the gas-holder is attached. The axis of this gas-holder lying horizontal, it follows, that as it is secured thereto by means of the stays and braces just mentioned, it must, as the axis revolves upon its bearings, move with it. If we suppose two concentric circles to be struck, with pencil lines, the one with a radius of ten feet, the other with seventeen, and either divided into four equal parts: then, by drawing lines from one circle to the other, radiating from the common centre to touch the divisional points of one quadrant, and afterwards with the distances above-mentioned, drawing in ink three-fourths of each circle, so as to meet the radiating lines, (the lines in pencil being rubbed out,) the figure will represent the end view of the gas-holder, as if the observer stood opposite one end of its axis.

The length of this gas-holder is thirty-five feet. The inner and outer circles are constructed of plate-iron in a similar way to the ordinary gas-holders; so also are both the ends, and the distance between the two concentric circles on that side which is to the left, when the gas-holder is empty. The space between these two circles on its opposite side is left open for the purpose of allowing the water to enter into it, so as to shut off all communication between the gas that may have entered and the atmosphere, and for the high-pressure gas to exert itself upon in the action of filling.

Before the action of this gas-holder is described, it will be necessary to observe, that the axis is open at one end, which is received into a square stuffing-box placed at the top of an upright pipe for conveying the gas from the purifier. About midway of the axis, a pipe branches off in the direction of that part which is open, and it is there connected to a bend-pipe of the radius of the outer circle of the gas-holder. This bend is received at the closed side of the vessel, and it is there open; its other end is closed. This gas-holder works in a brick tank constructed so as to form the longitudinal segment of a cylinder, the diameter of which is about thirty-five feet. The depth of the middle of the tank being eleven feet, the water, when it is filled, will rise about six inches above the interior circle of the vessel. At one end of this gas-holder is fixed a grooved ring of eight feet in diameter, its centre being in a line with the centre of the axis: over it runs a chain, to which a balance-weight is suspended, for the purpose of forcing the gas out of the vessel when it is wanted for supplying the street-mains. The action of this balance-weight is contrary to that used for vessels working vertically: in the latter, by increasing the balance-weight, the gas-holder works at less pressure—in the revolving gas-holder, should the weight be increased, the pressure will be increased also.

When the revolving gas-holder is first launched, preparatory to being brought into action, the part of it which is open is first immersed in water; and, as the water rises above the inner circle, it is received between that and the outer one. The balance-plates being placed in their situation, and all the valves closed, the top of the stuffing-box at the end of the axis is left partly open, the air which had occupied the interior is forced out by this means as the weight causes the vessel to revolve upon its axis, till the side

of it which is closed comes to the water's edge in the tank. The stuffing-box is then secured, and the gas-holder ready for receiving the gas. If then the valve, which is placed on the main between the purifier and gas-holder be opened, the gas rises into the stuffing-box, and passing into the axis, is thence conveyed by the adjoining pipe and bend between the closed side of the gas-holder and the surface of the water. The pressure between these, as the gas accumulates, causes the vessel to revolve towards the left till the open side is nearly level with the water to the right. In that situation the gas-holder is full, the valve of supply is then shut, and the vessel remains stationary till its contents are required for use. When such is the case, the valve allowing it to be discharged being opened, the pressure of the balance-weight forces the gas out with the impetus wanted; and, as it empties, it revolves to the right, until the closed side is brought down to the situation it occupied prior to the gas being admitted.

#### OF-STREET-PIPES.

A very few years ago, had any one advanced, as his opinion, the possibility of lighting, from one gas-manufactory, a combination of streets of many miles in length, he would have been looked upon as little better than a madman. Indeed, when the gas was first conveyed to the distance of about half a mile from the manufactory, it was considered as a wonderful performance. At that time, a gas-holder of twenty thousand cubic feet capacity was held up for admiration; but such have been the rapid advances in the science, we now talk of those that are of twice the capacity as of things with which we are quite familiar.

The pipes branching off from the largest size of main admit of such a number of smaller ones being connected with them as are jointly equal in area to the supplying ones, and those of still smaller under a like arrangement; till, at last, from the fourteen-inch main, (one of which is hardly equal for the supply from works where, in the winter months, about thirty chaldrons of coals are carbonized daily,) the street-mains are reduced to a diameter of not more than two inches,—the smallest size of cast-iron pipe in use.

Roman cement has recently been adopted for making good the joints of socket-pipes; and, as far as tried, is found to answer the purpose.

When the levity of gas is considered, it



it is by no means surprising to find with what celerity it finds its way to the higher part of the mains. So striking is the effect, that it must have attracted the notice of the most superficial observer; for, in some situations in this metropolis, which are very remote from the manufactory, when there has been an abundant supply of gas, others much nearer have had but a very feeble light.

When towns are to be lighted with gas which vary considerably in their level, it will always be necessary, therefore, to lay pipes of larger diameter in the lower parts, gradually decreasing them as they proceed towards the more elevated, and *vice versa*, if it be intended that the gas should issue from burners in both situations with the like impetus.

Although pipe-laying has hitherto been considered as work fit only for common men, perhaps there is no arrangement connected with the gas-light establishment which requires more powerful abilities for carrying it profitably into effect.

#### SERVICE-PIPES.

The service-pipe requires to be laid sloping, so as to allow the condensations to drain off, either into the main-pipe or the gun-barrel syphon. With wrought-iron tubing a junction is made between the main and interior of the house to be lighted: so much being done, a wrought-iron cap is screwed over the end of the tube, to prevent an escape of gas till the fitter-up has prepared his inside-work.

A pipe of a quarter of an inch bore is sufficient for supplying four argand burners, each consuming five cubic feet of gas per hour.

Every one burning a gas-light has it in his power, at one time or another, to observe that a gas-cock with one-sixteenth of an inch aperture, is amply sufficient for supplying one argand burner of the size generally used in shops; for, although at certain times, when it is opened to its full bore, the light emitted may be feeble and bad, yet there are times when, if he were to light it, he would be compelled to decrease the aperture to less than half, by turning the plug of the cock, to keep the flame below the glass. It may be set down then, that an insufficient light is, in many cases, owing to a want of power at the manufactory. This, however, is not always the case: in some instances a want of light is owing to the fittings-up being badly executed; but, as it is the manufacturer's duty to look into that before he furnishes a supply of gas, such defects argue either want of abili-

ties or inattention in the persons he may employ as inspectors; for, if the service-pipe be laid properly, and the fittings-up sound, such thing could hardly ever happen. The joints on the service-pipe ought to be perfect, as well as those on the copper-fittings inside.

The following directions for laying service-pipes, and relative to fittings-up, have been suggested, viz.: That the size of mains leading into houses should be three quarters of an inch in their internal diameter, for any number of lights under fifteen: but, when that number of lights were used, or the service-pipe was required to be a hundred yards in length, it should be increased to one inch. This has, again, been further defined by fixing the diameters of the service-pipes required for any number of lights from four to one hundred, at from six to two hundred yards distance from the street-mains.

#### THE GAS-METER.

Of all the improvements which have been added to the gas-light apparatus, perhaps there is not one of greater importance to the manufacturer than the gas-meter. If used between the purifying-vessels and gas-holders, it measures and registers the quantity of gas fit for use which may be generated: if between the gas-holder and street-mains, the quantity of gas supplied for use from the station is ascertained; and, if constructed on a smaller scale, and fixed in the houses of the respective consumers, it points out the number of cubic feet of gas that each may have burnt in any given time.

The general mode of charging the customers of the different gas-light companies for light, is at a certain sum per annum for burners of given dimensions, burning from sun-set till nine, ten, or eleven o'clock, &c. But this mode neither answers the end of the supplier or consumer. The former is left in a great measure at the mercy of the latter, and it by no means unfrequently happens that one person uses nearly twice the quantity of gas which is used by another from the same-sized burner and in the same time.

The idea of selling the gas by measure, instead of the very inaccurate method of disposing thereof by the time of burning and size of burner, seems to have originated with the chartered Gas-light Company in the year 1815; for, in the latter end of that year, or very early in the ensuing one, Mr. Samuel Clegg, who was at that time its engineer, constructed a gas-meter of the following description: To

a wooden frame were attached two small cylindrical vessels, in which worked two gas-holders, each containing, we will say, for the sake of speaking of a specific quantity, one cubic foot. The pipes supplying these gas-holders were connected to the gun-barrel leading into the house where the meter was to be used. By means of a beam and a mercurial valve, the action was as follows: the gas being turned on from the street, filled one of these gas-holders; and, when it became so, the beam acting upon a smaller one attached to the valve, shut off further supply from the one that was full, and opened a communication to the empty gas-holder as well as to the pipe supplying the burners. By the time this second gas-holder was full, the gas in the first was consumed, and therefore it was down in the tank, and the other being full, performed the action of change as the former had done when in its situation. Thus they alternately filled and emptied themselves, and the number of times they did so was pointed out by an index, which consequently shewed the number of cubic feet of gas that had passed through the meter.

For the sake of giving a nominal value to the gas produced, I shall suppose every thousand feet of it to be worth fifteen shillings; consequently, a burner charged at 4*l.* a-year, should consume but about 5,333 cubic feet of gas in that time. The burner had been proved by the manufacturer to consume such quantity in an hour as was in proportion to that number of cubic feet in a year; but then the flame had been adjusted to a certain height, and the pressure uniform. When fixed to the fittings in any house, both these very material data would be lost; for, the pressure on different parts of the street-mains varies in almost every street, and with every level; whilst the turning on of the stop-cock to its full bore, allows a flame of thrice the length that it ought to be; it therefore follows, that much more gas passes through the burner than is necessary for yielding the best light, which is obtained from a flame about three inches high.

To remedy these evils the gas-meter is well calculated; for, with the regulator, the flame, let the pressure be what it may from the street-mains, will never be in length more than about three inches. Therefore, supposing the manufacturer to contract with his customer for supplying him with gas by measure, at the rate of fifteen shillings per thousand cubic feet consumed, he will find that he ob-

tains a larger rental from the same means with which he had supplied light in the ordinary way, and the consumer will have a better light at less expense. By using the meter in all places, the manufacturer will have no occasion for a valve to shut off the supply to the street-mains—therefore, upon them, will constantly remain the pressure of the gas-holder—nor need he encumber his works with smaller mains to answer that end, for, he may rest assured, when his customer is aware that he is to pay for the gas which the meter will point out as consumed upon his premises, and no more, that he will not make use of such light but when it is absolutely necessary; he will be careful not only as to the time, but the mode of burning it, consequently the manufacturer will be able to supply more lights, and to increase his rental proportionally.

#### POWER OF COAL GAS-LIGHT.

An argand burner, consuming  $5\frac{1}{2}$  cubic feet of gas in an hour, yields a light equal to six mould candles of six to the pound.

A pound of such candles, if lighted and burnt out one after another, would last fifty-four hours; consequently, if they were all lighted at once, they would be burnt out in nine hours; therefore, if we multiply the number of cubic feet of gas consumed in one hour, for affording an equal light to that emitted by six mould candles of six to the pound, by such number of hours as the candles would last if all lighted together, we shall have the number of cubic feet of gas equal in illuminating power to a pound of such candles:

Thus,  $5\frac{1}{2} \times 9 = 50$ , the number of cubic feet of gas which is equal in illuminating power to a pound of mould candles of six to the pound.

Hence, if it be desired to know the number of cubic feet of gas required to be generated for supplying light equal to a given number of pounds of mould candles of six to the pound, should the number of pounds of candles be multiplied by fifty, the product will express the number of cubic feet of gas required for producing light equal in effect.

According to the most approved mode of operation, five cubic feet of gas are generated from one pound of Wallsend coal: it follows, then, from what has been just stated, that ten pounds of such coal produce as much gas as is equivalent in illuminating power to a pound of mould candles of six to the pound.

Hence, if the weight of coal for furnishing



nishing gas-light, equal to the light afforded by a given number of pounds of such candles, is wanted to be known, we have only to multiply the pounds of candles by ten, and the product shews the number of pounds of coal. As the chaldron of Newcastle coals may in practice be generally estimated to weigh twenty-seven cwt., or 3,024 pounds:— If we divide the pounds of coal last found by 3,024, we find the chaldrons; by eighty-four, the bushels; and by twenty-one, the pecks necessary to be submitted to the distillatory process.

#### HEAT WITH LIGHT.

As to the use of gas-light in shops, counting-houses, and public offices, it must be allowed a superiority over candles or lamps. It yields a pure white light, nearly equal to day-light, and at the same time produces such a degree of warmth, as almost to render a fire, in the place where it is burnt, useless. From my own experience, I am enabled to state, that two argand burners, each consuming about five cubic feet of gas in an hour, so sufficiently heat a room of about ten feet square, as to render a fire there unnecessary, even in the depth of winter. Indeed, every one who has used gas-lights must be aware of their heating quality beyond that of candles or lamps. This arises from their flame condensing more air than the flame of candles, &c.: the consequence arising therefrom, is the production of a greater proportion of heat; in short, a gas-light flame may be so enlarged as to heat apartments of the largest dimensions.

#### ECONOMY.

Gas-light cannot be manufactured with economy on a small scale; such, for instance, as where but three or four lights are wanted: it is in the large way, where the profits arising are most perceptible. In manufactories, and for lighting streets, it is most advantageously employed; but, in the latter case, were only the parish lamps lighted, it would not be attended with much profit. To make it answer the manufacturer's views, he ought also to light shops, and the interior of private houses, from the same range of main-pipe as supplies the street-lights.

The price of coals can make but little difference in the price of gas; for, where coals are plentiful, it follows that they will be cheap; so will also the coke; but, where coals are dear, the coke will also fetch a higher price, and find a more ready market.

#### RECAPITULATION.

In order to give the reader who is totally unacquainted with the nature of gas-light apparatus an idea of the process, I shall briefly recapitulate what has been already stated in the respective chapters of this work which treat of machinery: but, before I do so, it may not be amiss to point out the relative situation of the different apparatus. If we suppose the boundary lines of the manufactory such as to form a square, it would be advisable to have the entrance about mid-way of one of the sides. At one side of the gateway, there might be erected a house for the officer superintending the works; and at the other, another of similar appearance, fitted-up for the different offices. The retort-house should stand with one of its ends near the entrance; and the chimney should be placed at the other. A sufficient space should be left to allow a team to pass entirely round the retort-house, to prevent the necessity of turning in the yard, which, when confined, is attended with inconvenience. It would be well to have a range of buildings on each side of the retort-house, running parallel thereto, and contiguous to the boundary lines: that on one side being fitted-up so as to allow the lower part to form stores for castings, and heavy stores, and the upper for work-shops for the mechanics, and for small stores. The other building might be divided so as to form stores for coal and coke in the lower part, and above for other products. Beyond the retort-house might be placed the condenser, tar-vessel, purifier, and gas-meter, in a line parallel to its end; between these and the side opposite to that of entry, might be occupied by the gas-holders. An arrangement like this would present an uniformity of appearance, and a saving of room, which does not always appear to be considered by the manufacturer. However, the arrangement of the apparatus will vary with local circumstances; and, therefore, no general rule can be given for the purpose. It will be obvious, notwithstanding, that it will be well to place the gas-holders at as great a distance from the retort-house as the premises will allow.

Supposing the works to be complete, and the retorts heated to a bright cherry redness, preparatory to being charged; the lid is then removed from the mouth-piece, and a portion of luting, made of clay or Windsor loam, put round the edge of it. The coal is next introduced into

into the retort, after which the lid is put on, and secured by means of the cross-piece, so as to form a gas-tight joint. The distillatory process now commences, and the gas is carried up the pipe connected to the mouth-piece (with the tar and ammoniacal fluid in a gaseous state) over the H pipe into the hydraulic main, till the whole of the evaporable products are extracted from that charge, when the lid is removed and reluted, the charge drawn, and another introduced as before. This process goes on continually, till the retort is destroyed. The gas, tar, and ammonia having descended into the hydraulic main, they are conveyed away from it, by means of cast-iron pipes, towards the condenser, and, having passed through that vessel, the tar and ammoniacal liquor enter into the tar-cistern, whilst the gas passes into the purifier, where it undergoes a process for depriving it of the sulphuretted hydrogen gas and carbonic acid gas evolved with it. It then passes through the gas-meter, in order that the quantity made may be registered, on its way to the gas-holder, and, entering that, it is stored-up till wanted for use.

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### THE LIFE OF THOMAS PAINE.

BY THOMAS CLIO RICKMAN.

Octavo.—Pp. 280.—Price 10s. 6d.\*

#### HIS EARLY LIFE.

**T**HOMAS Paine was born at Thetford, in the county of Norfolk, in England, on the 29th of January, 1736. His father Joseph Paine, who was the son of a small reputable farmer, followed the trade of a stay-maker, and was by religious profession a Quaker. His mother's maiden name was Frances Cocke, a member of the church of England, and daughter of an attorney at Thetford.

They were married at the parish church of Euston, near Thetford, the 20th of June, 1734.

His father, by this marriage out of the society of Quakers, was disowned by that community.

Mr. Paine received his education at the grammar-school at Thetford, under the Rev. Wm. Knowles, master; and

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\* Another Life of Mr. Paine has also appeared within the month, by Mr. SHERWIN, which merits attention for the elegance of its style.

one of his school-mates at that time was the late counsellor Mingay.

When a child he composed some lines on a fly being caught in a spider's web; and produced, when eight years of age, the following epitaph on a crow which he buried in the garden:

Here lies the body of John Crow,  
Who once was high, but now is low;  
Ye brother crows take warning all,  
For as you rise, so must you fall.

At this school his studies were directed merely to the useful branches of reading, writing, and arithmetic, and he left it at thirteen years of age, applying, though he did not like it, to his father's business for nearly five years.

In the year 1756, when about twenty years of age, he went to London, where he worked some time in Hanover-street, Long Acre, with Mr. Morris, a noted stay-maker.

He continued but a short time in London; and it is probable, about this time made his seafaring adventure of which he thus speaks: "At an early age, raw and adventurous, and heated with the false heroism of a master (Rev. Mr. Knowles, master of the grammar-school at Thetford) who had served in a man-of-war, I began my fortune, and entered on board the *Terrible*, Captain Death. From this adventure I was happily prevented by the affectionate and moral remonstrances of a good father, who, from the habits of his life, being of the Quaker profession, looked on me as lost; but the impression, much as it affected me at the time, wore away, and I entered afterwards in the King of Prussia privateer, Captain Mender, and went with her to sea."

This way of life Mr. Paine soon left; and, about the year 1758, worked at his trade for near twelve months at Dover. In April 1759, he settled as a master stay-maker at Sandwich; and the 27th of September following, married Mary Lambert, the daughter of an exciseman of that place. In April 1760, he removed with his wife to Margate, where she died shortly after, and he again mingled with the crowds of London.

In July 1761, disgusted with the toil and little gain of his late occupation, he renounced it for ever, and determined to apply himself to the profession of an exciseman, towards which, as his wife's father was of that calling, he had some time turned his thoughts.

At this period he sought shelter under his father's roof at Thetford, that he might prosecute, in quiet and retirement, the



the object of his future course. Through the interest of Mr. Cocksedge, the recorder of Thetford, after fourteen months of study, he was established as a supernumerary in the excise, about the age of twenty five.

In this situation, at Grantham and Alford, &c. he did not continue more than two or three years, when he relinquished it in August 1765, and commenced it again in 1766.

In this interval he was teacher at Mr. Noble's academy, in Leman-street, Goodman's Fields, at a salary of 25l. a-year. In a similar occupation he afterwards lived for a short time, at Kensington, with a Mr. Gardner.

I remember, when once speaking of the improvement he gained in the above capacities, and some other lowly situations he had been in, he made this observation: "Here I derived considerable information; indeed I have seldom passed five minutes of my life, however circumstanced, in which I did not acquire some knowledge."

During this residence in London, Mr. Paine attended the philosophical lectures of Martin and Ferguson, and became acquainted with Dr. Bevis, of the Temple, a great astronomer. In these studies and the mathematics he soon became a proficient.

#### HIS RESIDENCE AT LEWES.

In March 1768, he was settled as an exciseman at Lewes, in Sussex; and there, on the 26th of March, 1771, married Elizabeth Ollive, shortly after the death of her father, whose trade of a tobacconist and grocer he entered into and carried on.

In this place he lived several years, in habits of intimacy with a very respectable, sensible, and convivial set of acquaintance, who were entertained with his witty sallies, and informed by his more serious conversations.

In politics he was at this time a Whig, and notorious for that quality which has been defined, perseverance in a good cause and obstinacy in a bad one. He was tenacious of his opinions, which were bold, acute, and independent, and which he maintained with ardour, elegance, and argument.

At this period, at Lewes, the White Hart evening Club was the resort of a social and intelligent circle, who, out of fun, seeing that disputes often ran very warm and high, frequently had what they called the 'Headstrong Book.' This was no other than an old Greek Homer, which was sent, the morning after a debate ve-

hemently maintained, to the most obstinate haranguer of the club: this book had the following title, as implying that Mr. Paine the best deserved and the most frequently obtained it.

THE  
HEADSTRONG BOOK,  
OR  
ORIGINAL BOOK OF OBSTINACY,  
WRITTEN BY  
\*\*\*\*\* OF LEWES, IN SUSSEX,  
AND REVISED AND CORRECTED BY  
THOMAS PAINE.

#### EULOGY ON PAINE.

Immortal PAINE, while mighty reasoners jar,  
We crown thee General of the Headstrong War;

Thy logic vanquish'd error, and thy mind  
No bounds but those of right and truth confined.

Thy soul of fire must sure ascend the sky,  
Immortal PAINE, thy fame can never die;  
For men like thee their names must ever save  
From the black edicts of the tyrant grave.

My friend Mr. Lee, of Lewes, in communicating this to me in September 1810, said, "This was manufactured nearly forty years ago, as applicable to Mr. Paine; and I believe you will allow, however indifferent the manner, that I did not very erroneously anticipate his future celebrity."

In April 1774, the goods of his shop were sold to pay his debts. As a grocer, he trafficked in excisable articles, and being suspected of unfair practices, was dismissed the excise, after being in it twelve years. Whether this reason was a just one or not never was ascertained: it was however the ostensible one.

At the time he was an exciseman at Lewes, he was so approved for doing his duty, that Mr. Jenner, principal clerk in the Excise Office, London, had several times occasion to write letters from the Board of Excise, thanking Mr. Paine for his assiduity in his profession, and for his information and calculations forwarded to the office.

In May following, Mr. Paine and his wife separated by mutual agreement; articles of which were finally settled on the 4th of June. Which of them was in this instance in the wrong, or whether either of them was so, must be left undetermined: this I can assert, that Mr. Paine always spoke tenderly and respectfully of his wife; and sent her several times pecuniary aid, without her knowing even whence it came.

That he did not cohabit with her from the moment they left the altar till the

the day of their separation, a space of three years, although they lived in the same house together, is an indubitable truth. It is also true, that no physical defect, on the part of Mr. Paine, can be adduced as a reason for such conduct. Mr. Paine's answer, upon my once referring to this subject, was "It is nobody's business but my own: I had cause for it, but I will name it to no one."

#### HIS DEPARTURE FOR AMERICA.

Towards the end of the year 1774, he was strongly recommended to the great and good Dr. Franklin, "the favour of whose friendship," he says, "I possessed in England, and my introduction to this part of the world [America] was through his patronage."

Mr. Paine now formed the resolution of quitting his native country, and soon crossed the Atlantic; and, as he himself relates, arrived at Philadelphia in the winter, a few months before the battle of Lexington, which was fought in April 1775.

"He came to Philadelphia (says Dr. Rush) in the year 1774, with a short letter of introduction from Dr. Franklin to one of his friends. His design was to open a school for the instruction of young ladies, in several branches of knowledge, which at that time was seldom taught in the schools of our country. Mr. Aitkin employed him as the editor of his Magazine, with a salary of 25*l.* currency a-year. This work was well supported by him. His song upon the death of General Wolfe, and his reflections upon the death of Lord Clive, gave it a sudden currency which few works of that kind have since had in our country.

"In the summer and autumn of 1776, he served as a volunteer in the American war, under General Washington. Whether he received pay and rations I cannot tell. He lived a good deal with the officers of the first rank in the army, at whose tables his 'Common Sense' always made him a welcome guest. The legislature of Pennsylvania gave Mr. Paine 500*l.* as an acknowledgment of the services he had rendered the United States by his publications."

#### PAINÉ'S MAGAZINE STYLE.

As it may amuse the reader to see Mr. Paine's style while editor of the *Pennsylvanian Magazine*, the following extract is given from one of his essays on the riches of the earth, and the diligence necessary to discover them:

"Though Nature is gay, polite, and generous abroad, she is sullen, rude, and niggardly at home. Return the visit,

and she admits you with all the suspicion of a miser, and all the reluctance of an antiquated beauty retired to replenish her charms. Bred up in antediluvian notions, she has not yet acquired the European taste of receiving visits in her dressing-room; she locks and bolts up her private recesses with extraordinary care, as if not only determined to preserve her hoards, but to conceal her age, and hide the remains of a face that was young and lovely before the days of Adam. He that would view Nature in her undress, and partake of her internal treasures, must proceed with the resolution of a robber, if not a ravisher: she gives no invitations to follow her to the cavern. The external earth makes no proclamation of the interior stores, but leaves to chance and industry the discovery of the whole. In such gifts as Nature can annually recreate, she is noble and profuse, and entertains the whole world with the interests of her fortunes, but watches over the capital with the care of a miser. Her gold and jewels lie concealed in the earth, in caves of utter darkness; the hoards of wealth moulder in the chests, like the riches of the necromancer's cell. It must be very pleasant to an adventurous speculatist to make excursions into these gothic regions: in his travels, he may possibly come to a cabinet locked up in some rocky vault, whose treasures might reward his toil, and enable him to shine on his return as splendidly as Nature herself."

#### HIS COMMON SENSE.

"Common Sense," it appears, was universally read and approved: the first edition sold almost immediately; and the second, with very large additions, was before the public soon after.

The success it met with, he observed, was beyond any thing since the invention of printing. I gave the copyright up to every state in the Union, and the demand run to not less than one hundred thousand copies, and I continued the subject under the title of "*American Crisis*," till the complete establishment of the American revolution.

Owing to the disinterested conduct of Mr. Paine, it appears, that though the sale of "*Common Sense*" was so great, he was in debt to the printer 29*l.* 12*s.* 1*d.* This liberality and conscientious discharge of his duty with respect to his serviceable writings, as he called them, he adopted through life. "When I bring out my poetical and anecdotal works," he would often say to me, "which



"which will be little better than amusing, I shall sell them; but I must have no gain in view, must make no traffic of my political and theological writings: they are with me matter of principle, and not matter of money: I cannot desire to derive benefit from them, or make them the subject to attain it."

And twenty-seven years after the publication of "*Common Sense*," he thus writes to a friend: "As the French revolution advanced, it fixed the attention of the world, and drew from the pen of Edmund Burke a furious attack; this brought me once more on the public theatre of public politics, and occasioned my writing a work that had the greatest run of any ever published in the English language. The principles in it were the same as those in my former one. As to myself, I acted in both cases alike.

"I relinquished to the people of England all profit, as I had done to those of America, from the work; my reward existed in the ambition of doing good, and in the independent happiness of my own mind. In my publications I follow the rule I began, that is, to consult with nobody, nor let any body see what I write, till it appears publicly; were I to do otherwise, the case would be, that, between the timidity of some who are so afraid of doing wrong that they never do right, the puny judgment of others, and the despicable craft of preferring expedient to right, as if the world was a world of babies in leading-strings, I should get forward with nothing.

"My path is a right line, as strait and clear to me as a ray of light. The boldness (if they will have it so) with which I speak on any subject, is a compliment to the person I address; it is like saying to him, I treat you as a man and not as a child. With respect to any worldly object, as it is impossible to discover any in me, therefore what I do, and my manner of doing it, ought to be ascribed to a good motive. In a great affair, where the good of man is at stake, I love to work for nothing; and so fully am I under the influence of this principle, that I should lose the spirit, the pride, and the pleasure of it, were I conscious that I looked for reward."

The state of Pennsylvania, in which he first published "*Common Sense*," and "*The Crisis*," in 1785, presented him, by an act of legislature, 500*l.* currency; and

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New-York gave him the estate at New Rochelle, in the county of Westchester, consisting of more than three hundred acres of land in high cultivation: on this estate was an elegant stone house, 125 by 28 feet, besides out-houses.

#### HIS RETURN TO EUROPE.

After the establishment of the independence of America, of the vigorous and successful exertions to attain which glorious object he had been the animating principle, soul, and support; feeling his exertions no longer requisite in that country, he embarked for France, and arrived at Paris early in 1787, carrying with him his fame as a literary man, an acute philosopher, and most profound politician.

At this time he presented to the Academy of Sciences, the model of a bridge which he invented, the principle of which has been since so highly celebrated and approved.

From Paris he arrived in England the 3d of September, just thirteen years after his departure for Philadelphia. Prompted by that filial affection which his conduct had ever manifested, he hastened to Thetford, to visit his mother, on whom he settled an allowance of nine shillings a-week. Of this comfortable solace she was afterwards deprived, by the bankruptcy of the merchant in whom the trust was vested.

Mr. Paine resided at Rotherham, in Yorkshire, during part of the year 1788, where an iron bridge, upon the principle alluded to, was cast and erected, and obtained for him among the mathematicians of Europe a high reputation. In the erection of this, a considerable sum had been expended, for which he was hastily arrested by the assignees of an American merchant, and thrown into confinement. From this, however, and the debt, he cleared himself in about three weeks. More or less upon this plan of Mr. Paine's, the different iron bridges in Europe have been constructed.

#### HIS "RIGHTS OF MAN."

The publication of "*Mr. Burke's Reflections on the French Revolution*," produced in reply from Mr. Paine his great, universally known, and celebrated work, the "*Rights of Man*." The first part of this work was written partly at the Angel, at Islington, partly in Harding-street, Fetter-lane, and finished at Versailles. In February, 1791, this book made its appearance in London, and many hundred thousand copies were rapidly sold.

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The second part of "Rights of Man," which completed the celebrity of its author, and placed him at the head of political writers, was published in February, 1792. Never had any work so rapid and extensive a sale; and it has been calculated that near a million and a half of copies were printed and published in England.

#### HIS SOCIETY IN LONDON.

Mr. Paine's life in London, was a quiet round of philosophical leisure and enjoyment. It was occupied in writing, in a small epistolary correspondence, in walking about with me to visit different friends, occasionally lounging at coffee-houses and public places, or being visited by a select few. Lord Edward Fitzgerald, the French and American ambassadors, Mr. Sharp the engraver, Romney the painter, Mrs. Wolstonecroft, Joel Barlow, Mr. Hull, Mr. Christie, Dr. Priestley, Dr. Towers, Colonel Oswald, the walking Stewart, Captain Sampson Perry, Mr. Toffin, Mr. William Choppin, Captain de Stark, Mr. Horne Tooke, &c. &c. were among the number of his friends and acquaintance. At this time he read but little, took his nap after dinner, and played with my family at some game in the evening, as chess, dominos, and drafts, but never at cards; in recitations, singing, music, &c.; or passed it in conversation: the part he took in the latter, was always enlightened, full of information, entertainment, and anecdote. Occasionally we visited enlightened friends, indulged in domestic jaunts and recreations from home, frequently lounging at the White Bear, Piccadilly, with his old friend the walking Stewart, and other clever travellers from France, and different parts of Europe and America. When by ourselves we sat very late, and often broke in on the morning hours, indulging the reciprocal interchange of affectionate and confidential intercourse. "Warm from the heart, and faithful to its fires," was that intercourse, and gave to us the "feast of reason and the flow of soul."

#### CONVENTION OF FRANCE.

Mr. Paine generally resided in London, and principally with me, till the 12th of September, 1792, when he sailed for France with Mr. Achilles Audibert, who came express from the French Convention to my house, to request his personal assistance in their deliberations. On his arrival at Calais, a public dinner was provided, a roval salute was fired from the battery, the troops were drawn out, and there was a gene-

ral rejoicing throughout the town. He has often been heard to remark, that the proudest moment of his life was that in which, on this occasion, he set foot upon the Gallic shore.

About the time of his arrival at Paris, the National Convention began to divide itself into factions; the king's friends had been completely subdued by the suppression of the Feuillans, the affair of the 10th of August, and the massacre of the 2d and 3d of September: while the Jacobins, who had been hitherto considered as the patriotic party, became in their turn divided into different cabals, some of them wishing a federative government, others, the *Enragés*, desiring the death of the king, and of all allied to the nobility; but none of those were republicans.

Those few deputies who had just ideas of a commonwealth, and whose leader was Paine, did not belong to the Jacobin club. I mention this, because Mr. Paine took infinite trouble to instil into their minds the difference between liberty and licentiousness, and the danger to the peace and good order and well-doing of society, that must arise from letting the latter encroach on the prerogatives of the former.

He laboured incessantly to preserve the life of the king, and he succeeded in making some converts to his opinions on this subject; and his life would have been saved but for Barrere, who, having been appointed by Robespierre to an office he was ambitious of obtaining, and certainly very fit for, his influence brought with it forty votes: so early was corruption introduced into this assembly.

#### THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

Mr. Paine's opinion upon this subject was always the same; and, in 1804, he thus speaks it: "With respect to the Revolution, it was begun by good men, on good principles, and I have ever believed it would have gone on so, had not the provocative interference of foreign powers distracted it into madness, and sown jealousies among the leaders."

#### HIS PROVIDENTIAL ESCAPES.

I was one of the nine members that composed the first Committee of Constitution. Six of them have been destroyed; Sieyes and myself have survived. He, by bending with the times, and I, by not bending. The other survivor joined Robespierre, and signed with him the warrant for my arrestation. After the fall of Robespierre, he was seized and imprisoned in his turn, and sentenced to transportation. He has since apologized



apologized to me for having signed the warrant, by saying, he felt himself in danger, and was obliged to do it. Herault Sechelles, an acquaintance of Mr. Jefferson's, and a good patriot, was my *suppléant* as a member of the Committee of Constitution; that is, he was to supply my place, if I had not accepted or had resigned, being next in number of votes to me. He was imprisoned in the Luxembourg with me, was taken to the tribunal, and to the guillotine; and I, his principal, was left.

There were but two foreigners in the Convention, Anarcharsis Cloots and myself. We were both put out of the convention by the same vote, arrested by the same order, and carried to prison together the same night. He was taken to the guillotine, and I was again left. Joel Barlow was with us when we went to prison.

Joseph Lebon, one of the vilest characters that ever existed, and who made the streets of Arras run with blood, was my *suppléant* member of the convention for the department of the Pays de Calais. When I was put out of the convention, he came and took my place. When I was liberated from prison, and voted again into the convention, he was sent to the same prison, and took my place there; and he went to the guillotine instead of me. He supplied my place all the way through.

One hundred and sixty-eight persons were taken out of the Luxembourg in one night, and a hundred and sixty of them guillotined the next day, of which I know I was to have been one; and the manner I escaped that fate is curious, and has all the appearance of accident. The room in which I was lodged was on the ground-floor, and one of a long range of rooms under a gallery, and the door of it opened outward and flat against the wall; so that, when it was open, the inside of the door appeared outward, and the contrary, when it was shut. I had three comrades fellow-prisoners with me: Joseph Vanhuile, of Bruges, since president of the municipality of that town, Michael Robins, and Bastini, of Louvain. When persons by scores and by hundreds were to be taken out of prison for the guillotine, it was always done in the night, and those who performed that office had a private mark or signal, by which they knew what rooms to go to, and what number to take.

We, as I said, were four, and the door of our room was marked, unobserved by

us, with that number in chalk; but it happened, if *happening* is a proper word, that the mark was put on the door when it was open and flat against the wall, and thereby came on the inside when we shut it at night,—and the destroying angel passed it by. A few days after this Robespierre fell; and the American ambassador arrived and reclaimed me, and invited me to his house.

During the whole of my imprisonment prior to the fall of Robespierre, there was no time when I could think my life worth twenty-four hours: and my mind was made up to meet its fate.

#### HIS SUBSEQUENT RESIDENCE IN FRANCE.

After his liberation, he found a friendly asylum at the American minister's house, Mr. Monroe, now President of the United States; and for some years before Mr. Paine left Paris, he lodged at M. Bonville's, associating occasionally with the great men of the day, Condorcet, Volney, Mercier, Joel Barlow, &c. &c. and sometimes dining with Bonaparte and his generals.

When Bonaparte returned from Italy, he called on Mr. Paine, and invited him to dinner: in the course of his rapturous address to him, he declared that a statue of gold ought to be erected to him in every city of the universe, assuring him that he always slept with his book "*Rights of Man*" under his pillow, and conjured him to honour him with his correspondence and advice.

#### HIS MECHANICAL INVENTIONS.

He now indulged his mechanical turn, and amused himself in bridge and ship-modelling, and in pursuing his favorite studies, the mathematics and natural philosophy. "These models," says a correspondent of that time, "exhibit an extraordinary degree not only of skill, but of taste in mechanics, and are wrought with extreme delicacy entirely by his own hands. The largest of these, the model of a bridge, is nearly four feet in length: the iron-work, the chains, and every other article belonging to it, were forged and manufactured by himself. It is intended as the model of a bridge which is to be constructed across the Delaware, extending 480 feet, with only one arch. The other is to be erected over a narrow river, whose name I forget, and is likewise a single arch, and of his own workmanship, excepting the chains, which, instead of iron, are cut out of pasteboard by the fair hand of his correspondent, '*The little Corner of the World*,' whose indefatigable perseverance

ance is extraordinary. He was offered 3,000*l.* for these models, and refused it. He also forged himself the model of a crane of a new description, which, when put together, exhibited the power of the lever to a most surprising degree."

#### HIS RETURN TO AMERICA.

The ardent desire which Mr. Paine ever had to retire to and dwell in his beloved America, is strongly portrayed in the following letter to a female friend in that country, written some years before.

"You touch me on a very tender point, when you say that my friends on your side of the water cannot be reconciled to the idea of my abandoning America, even for my native England.

"They are right: I had rather see my horse Button eating the grass of Bordentown or Morisania, than see all the pomp and shew of Europe.

"A thousand years hence, for I must indulge a few thoughts, perhaps in less, America may be what Europe now is. The innocence of her character, that won the hearts of all nations in her favour, may sound like a romance, and her inimitable virtue,—as if it had never been.

"The ruins of that liberty for which thousands bled, may just furnish materials for a village-tale, or extort a sigh from rustic sensibility, whilst the fashionable of that day, enveloped in dissipation, shall deride the principles and deny the fact.

"When we contemplate the fall of empires, and the extinction of the nations of the ancient world, we see but little more to excite our regret than the mouldering ruins of pompous palaces, magnificent monuments, lofty pyramids, and walls and towers of the most costly workmanship; but when the empire of America shall fall, the subject for contemplative sorrow will be infinitely greater than crumbling brass or marble can inspire. It will not then be said, here stood a temple of vast antiquity, here rose a Babel of invisible height, or there a palace of sumptuous extravagance;—but here, (ah! painful thought!) the noblest work of human wisdom, the grandest scene of human glory, and the fair cause of freedom, rose and fell! Read this; and then ask if I forget America."

#### HIS LETTER TO MR. RICKMAN.

"My dear Friend,—Mr. Monroe, who is appointed minister extraordinary to France, takes charge of this, to be delivered to Mr. Este, banker in Paris, to be forwarded to you.

"I arrived at Baltimore 30th of October, and you can have no idea of the agitation which my arrival occasioned. From New Hampshire to Georgia (an extent of 1500 miles) every newspaper was filled with applause or abuse.

"My property in this country has been taken care of by my friends, and is now worth six thousand pounds sterling; which, put in the funds, will bring me 400*l.* sterling a-year.

"Remember me in friendship and affection to your wife and family, and in the circle of our friends.

"I am but just arrived here, and the minister sails in a few hours, so that I have just time to write you this. If he should not sail this tide, I will write to my good friend Col. Bosville; but in any case I request you to wait on him for me.

"Your's in friendship,

"THOMAS PAINE."

#### HIS LAST ILLNESS.

In January, 1809, Mr. Paine became very feeble and infirm, so much so, as to be scarcely capable of doing any thing for himself. During this illness, he was pestered on every hand with the intrusive and impertinent visits of the bigotted, the fanatic, and the designing. To entertain the reader, some specimens of the conduct of these intruders are here given.

He usually took a nap after dinner, and would not be disturbed, let who would call to see him. One afternoon, a very old lady, dressed in a large scarlet hooded cloak, knocked at the door, and enquired for Thomas Paine. Mr. Jarvis, with whom Mr. Paine resided, told her he was asleep. I am very sorry, she said, for that, for I want to see him particularly. Thinking it a pity to make an old woman call twice, Mr. Jarvis took her into Mr. Paine's bed-room, and awoke him: he rose upon one elbow; then, with an expression of eye, that made the old woman stagger back a step or two, he asked "What do you want?" "Is your name Paine?" "Yes." "Well, then, I come from Almighty God to tell you, that if you do not repent of your sins, and believe in our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, you will be damned, and"—"Poh, poh, it is not true; you were not sent with any such impertinent message: Jarvis, make her go away: pshaw! he would not send such a foolish ugly old woman about with his messages: go away: go back: shut the door."

Among others, the Rev. Mr. Hargrove, minister of a new sect called the New



New Jerusalemites, accosted him with this impertinent stuff: 'My name is Hargrove, sir; I am minister of the New Jerusalem church; we, sir, explain the scripture in its true meaning: the key has been lost these four thousand years, and we have found it.' "Then," said Paine, in his own neat way, "it must have been very rusty."

About the 4th of May, symptoms of approaching dissolution became very evident to himself; and he soon fell off his milk-punch, and became too infirm to take any thing, complaining of much bodily pain: he expired on the 8th of June. The day after his decease, he was taken from his house at Greenwich, attended by seven persons, to New Rochelle; where he was afterwards interred on his own farm. A stone has been placed at the head of his grave, according to the direction in his will, with the following inscription:

Thomas Paine,  
Author of "Common Sense."  
Died June 8th, 1809, aged 72 Years and 5 Months.

HIS LAST MOMENTS.

Before I quit the subject, I give the following authentic document, in a letter from New York:

"Sir,—I witnessed a scene last night, which occasioned sensations only to be felt, not to be described. The scene I allude to, was no less extraordinary than the beholding the well-known Thomas Paine struggling to retain a little longer in connection his soul and body. For near an hour I sat by the bed-side of that well-known character, to whom I was introduced by one of his friends. Could the memory have retained the suggestions of my mind, in the moments when I was reviewing the pallid looks of him who had attempted to overthrow kingdoms and monarchies, of him who has astonished the world with the fruits of a vast mind, whose works have caused a great part of mankind to think and feel as they never did before, such suggestions would not be uninteresting to you. I could not contemplate the approaching dissolution of such a man,—see him gasping for breath,—without feelings of a peculiar nature. Poor Paine's body has given way before his mind, which is yet firm; mortification seems to have taken up its dwelling in his frame, and he will soon be no more. With respect to his principles, he will die as he has lived: they are unaltered. Some methodists went to him a few days ago, to endeavour to make a convert of him; but he would not listen to their entreaties."

MR. WAKEFIELD ON PAINE'S "AGE OF REASON."

"What right, I wish to be informed, can one man claim, distinct from power, and tyranny, and usurpation, to dictate creeds, and to prescribe sentiments, for another?"

"Let us put an extreme case upon this question, which will abundantly elucidate, and indubitably decide, the controversy,—I mean the publication of 'Paine's Age of Reason.'

"But I would not forcibly suppress this book; much less would I punish (O, my God! be such wickedness far from me; or leave me destitute of thy favour in the midst of this perjured and sanguinary generation!) much less would I punish, by fine or imprisonment, from any possible consideration, the publisher or author of those pages.

"PRUDENTIAL MOTIVES would prevent me: because such interdiction serves only to excite the restless curiosity of mankind; and the restraints of law give fresh vigour to circulation.

"MOTIVES OF PHILOSOPHY would prevent me: because enquiry and discussion are hereby provoked, and sparks of truth, which would otherwise have been concealed for ever, are elicited by the collision of debate, to the unspeakable emolument and illumination of mankind, in the promotion of mutual forbearance and esteem, in the furtherance of valuable knowledge, and in the consequent propagation of all happiness and virtue. Truth can never suffer from argument and enquiry; but may be essentially injured by the tyrannous interference of her pretended advocates.

"MOTIVES OF JUSTICE would deter me. Why should I refuse another that privilege of thinking and writing, which I claim and exercise myself?

"MOTIVES OF HUMANITY would deter me. I should think with horror on the punishment of any man for his belief, in which he has no discretionary power, but is necessarily swayed by the controlling despotism of arguments and reasons: and at what licence or patent-shop shall I purchase a gag to silence him? Or, what shall hinder him from forming the same unfavourable judgment of my opinions, and pursuing in his turn the same measures of intimidation and coercion with myself?

"Thus the fair and goodly creation of the Almighty is to be converted into a howling wilderness of savage beasts, alternately hunting and worrying each other.

"Lastly,

"Lastly, MOTIVES OF RELIGION would deter me from molesting any writer for the publication of his sentiments."

LETTER FROM PAINE TO LADY SMITH.  
From '*The Castle in the Air*,' to '*The Little Corner of the World*.'

In Paris, in 1793, I had lodgings in the Rue Fauxbourg St. Denis, No. 63. They were the most agreeable for situation of any I ever had in Paris, except that they were too remote from the Convention, of which I was then a member. But this was recompensed by their being also remote from the alarms and confusion into which the interior of Paris was then often thrown. The news of those things used to arrive to us, as if we were in a state of tranquillity in the country. The house, which was inclosed by a wall and gateway from the street, was a good deal like an old mansion farmhouse, and the court-yard was like a farm-yard, stocked with fowls, ducks, turkeys, and geese; which, for amusement, we used to feed out of the parlour window on the ground-floor. There were some hutches for rabbits, and a sty with two pigs. Beyond, was a garden of more than an acre of ground, well laid out, and stocked with excellent fruit-trees. The orange, apricot, and green-gage plum, were the best I ever tasted; and it is the only place where I saw the wild cucumber. The place had formerly been occupied by some curious person.

My apartments consisted of three rooms; the first, for wood, water, &c. with an old-fashioned closet-chest high enough to hang up clothes in; the next, was the bed-room; and beyond it the sitting-room, which looked into the garden through a glass door; and, on the outside, there was a small landing-place railed in, and a flight of narrow stairs, almost hidden by the vines that grew over it, by which I could descend into the garden, without going down stairs through the house.

I went into my chamber to write and sign a certificate for them,\* which I intended to take to the guard-house to obtain their release. Just as I had finished it, a man came into my room, dressed in the Parisian uniform of a captain, and spoke to me in good English, and with a good address. He told me that two young men, Englishmen, were arrested, and detained in the guard-house, and that the section (meaning those who represented and acted for the section) had sent him to ask me if I knew them, in

\* Mr. Paine here alludes to two friends who were under arrest.

which case they would be liberated. This matter being soon settled between us, he talked to me about the Revolution, and something about the "*Rights of Man*," which he had read in English; and, at parting, offered me in a polite and civil manner his services. And who do you think the man was that offered me his services? It was no other than the public executioner Samson, who guillotined the king, and all who were guillotined in Paris; and who lived in the same section and in the same street with me.

As to myself, I used to find some relief by walking alone in the garden after dark, and cursing, with hearty good-will, the authors of that terrible system that had turned the character of the revolution I had been proud to defend.

I went but little to the Convention, and then only to make my appearance; because I found it impossible to join in their tremendous decrees, and useless and dangerous to oppose them. My having voted and spoken extensively, more so than any other member, against the execution of the king, had already fixed a mark upon me: neither dared any of my associates in the Convention to translate, and speak in French for me, anything I might have dared to have written.

Pen and ink were then of no use to me: no good could be done by writing, and no printer dared to print; and whatever I might have written for my private amusement, as anecdotes of the times, would have been continually exposed to be examined, and tortured into any meaning that the rage of party might fix upon it; and, as to softer subjects, my heart was in distress at the fate of my friends, and my harp was hung upon the weeping willows.

As it was summer, we spent most of our time in the garden, and passed it away in those childish amusements that serve to keep reflection from the mind; such as marbles, scotch-hops, battle-dores, &c. at which we were all pretty expert.

In this retired manner we remained about six or seven weeks; and our landlord went every evening into the city, to bring us the news of the day, and the evening journal.

Two days after, I heard a rapping at the gate; and, looking out of the window of the bed-room, I saw the landlord going with a candle to the gate, which he opened, and a guard with musquets and fixed bayonets entered. I went to bed again, and made up my mind for prison;



prison; for I was then the only lodger. It was a guard to take up ———, but, I thank God, they were out of their reach.

The guard came about a month after, in the night, and took away the landlord, Georgeit; and the scene in the house finished with the arrestation of myself.

HIS THOUGHTS ON SUICIDE.

It is often difficult to know what is a misfortune: that which we feel as a great one to-day, may be the means of turning aside our steps into some new path that leads to happiness yet unknown. In tracing the scenes of my own life, I can discover that the condition I now enjoy, which is sweet to me, and will be more so when I get to America, except by the loss of your society, has been produced, in the first instance, in my being disappointed in former projects. Under that impenetrable veil, futurity, we know not what is concealed; and the day to arrive, is hidden from us. Turning then our thoughts to those cases of despair that lead to suicide, when 'the mind,' as you say, 'neither sees nor hears, and holds council only with itself; when the very idea of consolation would add to the torture, and self-destruction is its only aim;' what, it may be asked, is the best advice? what the best relief? I answer, seek it not in reason, for the mind is at war with reason, and to reason against feelings, is as vain as to reason against fire: it serves only to torture the tortured, by adding reproach to horror. All reasoning with ourselves, in such cases, acts upon us like the reason of another person, which, however kindly done, serves but to insult the misery we suffer. If Reason could remove the pain, Reason would have prevented it. If she could not do the one, how is she to perform the other? In all such cases, we must look upon Reason as dispossessed of her empire by a revolt of the mind. She retires herself to a distance to weep, and the ebony sceptre of Despair rules alone. All that reason can do, is to suggest, to hint a thought, to signify a wish, to cast now and then a kind of bewailing look, to hold up, when she can catch the eye, the miniature shaded portrait of Hope; and, though dethroned, and can dictate no more, to wait upon us in the humble station of a hand-maid.

SPECIMENS OF HIS POETRY.

*Verses to a Friend, after a long Conversation on War.*

The rain pours down, the city looks forlorn,  
And gloomy subjects suit the howling morn;

Close by my fire, with door and window fast,  
And safely shelter'd from the driving blast,  
To gayer thoughts I bid a day's adieu,  
To spend a scene of solitude with you.

So oft has black revenge engross'd the care  
Of all the leisure hours man finds to spare;  
So oft has guilt, in all her thousand dens,  
Call'd for the vengeance of chastising pens;  
That while I fain would ease my heart on you,  
No thought is left untold, no passion new.  
From flight to flight the mental path appears,  
Worn with the steps of near six thousand years;

And fill'd throughout with every scene of pain,  
From modern murderers down to murderous Cain.

Alike in cruelty, alike in hate,  
In guilt alike, but more alike in fate;  
Cursed supremely for the blood they drew,  
Each from the rising world, while each was new.

Go, men of blood! true likeness of the first,  
And strew your blasted heads with homely dust:

In ashes sit—in wretched sackcloth weep,  
And with unpitied sorrows cease to sleep.  
Go, haunt the tombs, and single out the place  
Where earth itself shall suffer a disgrace.  
Go, spell the letters on some mouldering urn,  
And ask if he who sleeps there can return.  
Go, count the numbers that in silence lie,  
And learn by study what it is to die;  
For sure your heart, if any heart you own,  
Conceits that man expires without a groan;  
That he who lives receives from you a grace,  
Or death is nothing but a change of place:  
That peace is dull, that joy from sorrow springs,

And war the most desirable of things.  
Else why these scenes that wound the feeling mind,

This port of death—this cockpit of mankind!  
Why sobs the widow in perpetual pain?  
Why cries the orphan,—“Oh! my father's slain!”

Why hangs the sire his paralytic head,  
And nods with manly grief—“My son is dead!”

Why drops the tear from off the sister's cheek,  
And sweetly tells the misery she would speak?  
Or why, in sorrow sunk, does pensive John  
To all the neighbours tell “Poor master's gone?”

Oh! could I paint the passion that I feel,  
Or point a horror that would wound like steel,  
To each unfeeling, unrelenting mind  
I'd send destruction, and relieve mankind.  
You that are husbands, fathers, brothers, all  
The tender names which kindred learn to call;  
Yet, like an image carved in massy stone,  
You bear the shape, but sentiment have none;  
Allied by dust and figure, not with mind,  
You only herd, but live not with mankind.

Since then, no hopes to civilize remain,  
And mild philosophy has preach'd in vain,  
One

One prayer is left, which dreads no proud reply,  
That he who made you breathe, will make  
you die.

*Impromptu to a Long-nosed Friend, (the  
late Count Zenobio.) Paris, 1800.*

Going along the other day,  
Upon a certain plan;  
I met a nose upon the way,  
Behind it—was a man.

I called unto the nose to stop,  
And when it had done so,—  
The man behind it—he came up,—  
They made ZENOBIO.

## LETTERS ON THE EVENTS WHICH HAVE PASSED IN FRANCE

SINCE THE RESTORATION IN 1815.

BY HELEN MARIA WILLIAMS.

Octavo.—Pp. 199.—Price 7s. 6d.

[Miss Williams is one of the most eloquent writers of her time; and, when her opposition to the conspirators against liberty was not equivocal, she was also one of the most popular writers. But Miss Williams has committed the logical error of thousands, and has mistakenly, or wilfully, ascribed the necessary resistance of Napoleon against the unjust and persevering aggressions of the royal conspirators, to his ambition and fondness for war. She might also commit the same error in regard to the philanthropist BRISSOT, who, in concert with her friends, declared, in 1793, that war, which proved the most bloody on record. The truth is, that the late wars were wars of feudal tyranny against philosophy, and it mattered not who was at the head of the French government; it was the government itself, its basis, and its example, that was to be destroyed at all hazards. Foolish, or wicked, or corrupt, therefore, must those be who charge on the heads of the French government any of the horrors of the last twenty years; they are chargeable only on the Treaty of Pilnitz, on the Duke of Brunswick's Manifesto, on the assassinations at Radstadt, on the wanton violation of the Treaty of Amiens, on the hostilities of Mack and Brunswick, on the incendiaries at Copenhagen, on the piratical murders in the Spanish treasure-ships, on the violation of the Treaty of Tilsit; and lastly, on the violation of the Treaty of Fontainebleau. Some passages of Miss Williams's work merit, however, the attention of our readers, though it is difficult to select any which are not distorted by her feminine resentments against Napoleon, for suspecting that her pension from the Bri-

tish government, might lead her to act the part of A SPY, and for arresting her as such, though he failed in securing the proofs.]

### PROSPECTS FOR LIBERTY.

ONE class of the nation was found in vigorous resistance to all ultra-royalist measures: that class is composed of the whole youth of France. Among them there is no dissenting voice, no hostile opinion. You may still inquire in French society what are the political sentiments of a man in advanced life; but, if the person with whom you converse be young, inquiry is useless: that person is a lover of liberty. The French youth have lived only under the new order of things, and have not been taught to respect the old. They have imbibed the principles of the Revolution, without having felt its evils. Its pitiless tempest rocked their cradle, and passed harmless over their heads. They are not like those who, having passed through the storm, are weary of the conflict, and disposed to leave the reformation of the world to whomever it may concern. The minds of the French youth are unsubdued by suffering, and full of the ardour of independence. They know that liberty is the prize; for many of their parents have bled in the field, or perished on the scaffold. But they are too well read in modern history, of which their country has been the great theatre, to seek for liberty where it is not to be found. They do not represent that misled and insensate multitude who, in the first years of the Revolution, had just thrown off their chains, and profaned in their ignorance the cause they revered. The present race are better taught, and will not bow the knee to false idols. They rally around the charter as their tutelar divinity, whom it is their duty to obey, and their privilege to defend.

### BOURBON PROSCRIPTION.

A law was passed for the expulsion from the French territory of those members of the Convention who had voted the death of their unfortunate king, and had also, upon the return of Bonaparte from Elba, signed what he called his "Additional Act" to his Constitution,—the second crime being considered as an aggravation of the first. This law eventually gave rise to a cruel kind of injustice. It is well known, that one fatal error of those true friends of liberty the Gironde, was the belief that, on the trial of Louis XVI. all they had left to do was to yield in appearance to the Terrorists; and



and several voted his death with the firm purpose of saving him, by joining additional clauses to their votes, such as imprisonment for life, banishment till the peace, &c. Firm and open resistance would, no doubt, have been not only nobler but wiser; for the surest manner of inspiring awe in those who do wrong, is to do right. It is however a fact, that the votes containing such clauses were couched in favour of the king; and such in particular was the vote of M. Pominier Rabaud, the brother of the illustrious and unfortunate Rabaud St. Etienne, and for several years past one of our protestant ministers at Paris. M. Rabaud, having thought fit to sign the "Additional Act," was sent into exile, while some of the Terrorists, who had voted the death of the king without modification or delay, not having signed the Additional Act, were suffered to remain. M. Rabaud bears a name which is never pronounced but with veneration by the protestants of France. His exile was generally deplored; the pious had lost a model, and the poor a friend. After two years of exile, his return was solicited by one of the best defenders of protestantism and of liberty in France, M. Boissy d'Anglas, and granted by the king with generous alacrity. The first time our venerable pastor appeared at church, a great part of the audience offered him a spontaneous tribute of affectionate reverence, by rising when he entered.

#### NAPOLEON.

He issued several edicts concerning internal regulations from Schönbrunn, and a long ordinance about the French theatre, from the palace of the Czars. He was probably also proud of these dates; and felt that there was something to fill the imagination, in the power of giving orders that had such a space to traverse, and such a certainty of being executed. He liked to show he could govern, from the walls of the Kremlin to the green-room of the Rue-Richelieu.

#### CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES.

The Chamber of Deputies possesses excellent speakers, yet what passes cannot properly be called a discussion. The members, when they intend to speak, are obliged to inscribe their names on a list, for or against the question in discussion; the order in which they are to speak cannot be inverted; they must go to the tribune in the succession in which their names are marked; and it must be admitted, that this manner of debating very little resembles a debate. We seldom

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hear of those interrogatories which a minister must submit to answer in the House of Commons.

When the assembly, after a general discussion, examines the separate articles of a law, the investigation takes more the character of a discussion. But French legislators have a difficulty to conquer, from which perhaps even a member of the House of Commons would shrink. Not one word are they permitted to articulate in their place; if they think proper to speak, they must leave their seat, march to the tribune, ascend the steps; and, when they have reached their pulpit, the glow of feeling has perhaps been chilled on the way—the sentiment is evaporated—the ideas are dispersed—the energies of mind have sunk in the ceremonial,—and he who eagerly claimed a right to speak, finds at last that he has nothing to say.

The Chamber will probably make a regulation to prevent the members from reading their discourses.

There are some good and loyal deputies, who believe the country would be in danger, if they failed to transmit to the public the mass of their legislative opinions. They appear at the tribune with a manuscript of tremendous size in their hand, their head bent on the paper, their spectacles placed on the nose, and with a pre-determination not to spare the Chamber one single page, although the discussion is perhaps nearly closed; and they are not of the class of speakers who find new arguments when the old are exhausted. The assembly sometimes, unable to endure any more, call to their honourable colleague to pass over a few leaves of his manuscript: but the next morning that very member is called *un orateur* in all the journals; and his constituents are not apprized that the assembly considered him as taking a cruel advantage, in his harangue, of their constitutional obligation to listen.

We have also some metaphysical deputies, who never speak on any question without going back to the origin of society, and who might well be addressed, in the words of Les Plaideurs, "*Avocat, passez au deluge!*"

The Chamber of Deputies is composed of parties professing the most opposite opinions: it may be divided into four classes, under the denomination of the *Ultras*, the *Centre*, the *Doctrinaires*, and "though last, not least," the *Liberaux* or *Independans*.

The *Ultra* deputies, placed on the right side of the hall, and calling themselves

selves the *côté droit*, in imitation of their predecessors in the Constituent Assembly, are continually declaiming from the tribune against the people they represent. Their dreams are of popular insurrections and conspiracies, and the crimes and misdemeanors of philosophy. Their *mot d'ordre* is the throne and the altar. These partisans of the past, always go back one or two centuries in search of any French title to distinction or glory. They admire no epocha of its government but that of the Grand Monarque, and they have heard of no great general since Turenne and Villars. They once knew France, but they know nothing of the French nation. Many of that party have been absent during the Revolution; they came back to complain of their sufferings, to demand redress for their wrongs; and their return may be called an invasion.

The party of the *Centre* is formidable from its numbers, and is composed, for the most part, of men unmoved and motionless amidst the most important deliberations, but making the balance lean sometimes in favour of the Greeks, and sometimes of the Trojans. This party possess an inert force difficult to vanquish; but little more can be said of them, and they say nothing for themselves. For we must not confound with the *Centre* the sect of *Doctrinaires*, who are sometimes found in its ranks.

The *Doctrinaires* are the avowed partisans of liberal opinions, but who believe that the best means of securing their triumph, is not to oppose the ministers when they are in the right, and to support their measures when they are constitutional. The members of this sect, therefore, forming a branch of the great revolutionary heresy, are neither men of the ministry, nor men of the opposition; in short, they are *Doctrinaires*. They probably obtained that denomination, from the metaphysical and abstract manner in which a few of their most distinguished members treat political questions.

The *côté gauche*, composed of the *Libéraux* or *Indépendans*, forms the vanguard of French liberty. The *Indépendans* are of that class of men, whose principles overthrew the old despotism, and who made the Revolution. They have sometimes hoped, sometimes despaired of freedom, but always adhered to her cause; and for which they now struggle, under the banner of the charter.

#### THE LAW OF ELECTIONS.

The charter recognized the right of election; but the mode in which that

right was to be exercised, was to be enacted by the legislature; and the deputies had hitherto been called together according to the law prescribed by Bonaparte.

The primary assemblies nominated the electors, who were chosen from the class immediately above their own; and those electors named the deputies. There were thus two distinct acts of election; by the first of which, under the insidious mask of a very popular and extended franchise, the power of election was thrown into the hands of the lowest, and consequently the most dependent, part of the community, and over whom the higher orders were in possession of the most complete influence.

By the new law of election, the right of voting was restricted to persons paying direct taxes to the amount of 300 francs a-year. The elections were thus placed in the hands of the most respectable and independent class of the community. One article of the charter had besides regulated, that a fifth of the deputies should be renewed every year.

No person can enter the place where the electoral colleges assemble but an elector. The presidents and vice-presidents of each college are named by the government; and these nominations are considered as a sort of intimation, that they are men on whom it would be agreeable that the electors should fix their choice.

No discussion is permitted in the assemblies of the electoral colleges, on the merits of the respective candidates, from the apprehension that the colleges would be transformed into clubs, and, that among a people so fond of talking, a speaker who had once obtained *la parole*, would never be prevailed upon to hold his tongue.

The electoral colleges have a *garde d'honneur* at the door of the hall where they assemble. The French admit that the English are perfectly right in sending the military to a certain distance from the spot where an election is about to take place. They know that the independence of a body of men exercising their electoral right, as in the discharge of any other civic function, would be assailed by the presence of bayonets intended to overawe; at their aspect, liberty fled from the French soil, as the divinites of Troy abandoned the sacred city filled with Grecian soldiers: but the French are so accustomed to consider what they call a *garde d'honneur* as a mere mark of respect, which means nothing



nothing more, that it appears to them a duty, to show the same deference to the electoral body as they would to any distinguished personage.

It must also be observed, that the centinels on this occasion are composed of the national guard, who, though they carry fire-locks, are not soldiers, but armed citizens—a portion of the sovereign people. The French have a great deal to ameliorate and correct, not only in their institutions, but in their habits, before they attain the dignity of freemen. They are accustomed to behold themselves too much and too well guarded: wherever they turn their steps, they find a soldier in their path. He waits for them at the end of every avenue, at the portico of the Museum, in the Hall of the Institute, at the entrances of the theatres, and even at the doors of a private ball-room.

THE PRESS.

The government has at length proposed three new laws to the Chamber, on publications in general. The first, regulating the penalties that may be incurred; the second, the forms to be observed in the proceedings; and the third, whatever regards periodical works. They have just been adopted, after a long discussion. It must be admitted, that they contain a singular mixture of provisions, favourable at once to popular liberty and to arbitrary power. The introduction of the trial by jury, and permission given to prove, by the testimony of witnesses, the truth of imputations brought against public functionaries, are, no doubt, important meliorations; but, on the other hand, the penalties inflicted for violations of the law are very heavy, and the forms of proceeding are in proportional severity.

The freedom from censorship of the daily and periodical journals is also established; but the proprietor of a journal must deposit more than one hundred thousand francs in the hands of government as a guarantee, previous to its publication. Liberty can certainly never be purchased too dear: governments have often attempted to destroy it, but it is now for the first time put up to sale.

The abolition of censors to the daily journals has given general satisfaction. Their functions being terminated, the exercise of thought is no longer prohibited, though it is subject to a duty. The journals will now, it may be hoped, assume a new character; they will no longer chant bespoken eulogies in chorus, or adhere to their fatiguing monotony of opinion.

NAPOLEON.

Bonaparte's presence excited no awe when he sat on his throne—he was even awkward in his gestures, as if he were not at his ease on a seat to which he was unaccustomed. It was in the field and on horseback, that his small figure, in a plain coat, cast a spell about, which, under the walls of the Kremlin, and at the foot of the Pyramids, rendered danger delightful, and death unheeded. A friend of mine, attached to the minister of foreign affairs, who always followed Napoleon to the army, told me he saw him, the day after a great battle, pass through a field that led to his headquarters, and which was covered with wounded and dying soldiers. As he went by, they suspended their groans, and cried *Vive l'Empereur!*

SOME ACCOUNT

OF THE LIFE

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[This is a very pleasing work; and, aided by the notes of the editor, throws much light on the history of the times preceding the Revolution. We have made some selections from the editor's biography of the two illustrious females, but the letters are too much connected, to be separated with effect.]

HER FAMILY.

LADY Rachael Wriothesley, was the second daughter of Thomas Wriothesley Earl of Southampton, by his first wife, Rachael de Ruigny, of an ancient Hugonot family in France. She was born about the year 1636. Her mother died in her infancy; and her father married, for his second wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Francis Leigh, afterwards created Earl of Chichester, by whom he had four other daughters, one of whom only survived him.

Lord Southampton died in 1667. His thoughtless and unfeeling master had for some time been desirous to snatch from his dying hand the treasurer's staff, which he still held, that he might place it with those, to whom he could with less shame and less fear of remonstrance confide the opprobrious secret of his political dishonour. The disgrace of Clarendon, which happened within a few months after the death of his friend, seems to have formed a melancholy era in the avowed venality and profligacy of the court of Charles. Lord Southampton's second wife dying, he married, for the third time, a daughter of Francis duke of Somerset, widow of Viscount Molyneux. By this third marriage he left no children.

Of his second marriage, one only out of four daughters survived him; who, inheriting her mother's fortune, left entire possession of Lord Southampton's estates to the two surviving children of his first marriage, Elizabeth and Rachael, who thus became considerable heiresses. The Lady Elizabeth married Edward Noel, son of Viscount Campden, created afterwards Earl of Gainsborough. The subsequent marriage of the Lady Rachael with Francis Lord Vaughan, eldest son of the earl of Carberry, about the year 1653, was settled, according to the fashion of that day, by the intervention of parents; and at so early a period of life, that, to use the words in which, on a subsequent occasion, Lady Russell herself expresses an opinion of early marriages, (founded perhaps on her own experience,) in such unions "it is acceptance, rather than choosing, on either side."

#### HER SECOND MARRIAGE.

In the year 1667, we find Lady Vaughan a widow, living with her beloved sister, Lady Elizabeth Noel, at Tichfield, in Hampshire, the seat of their father, Lord Southampton; which Lady Elizabeth Noel, as the eldest of the two daughters by his first marriage, had recently inherited: his property at Stratton at the same time falling to the lot of Lady Vaughan.

Of the commencement of her acquaintance with Mr. Russell, we are ignorant. That it existed more than two years before it terminated in their union, we know from a letter of Lady Percy's to Lady Vaughan, in the summer of 1667, where she mentions Mr. Russell in a manner to leave no doubt of his having manifested his sentiments for her sister. "For his (Mr. Russell's) concern, I can

say nothing more than that he professes a great desire, which I do not at all doubt he and everybody else has, to gain one, who is so desirable in all respects."

Mr. Russell was then only a younger brother, and Lady Vaughan a very considerable heiress, without children by her first marriage. The advantages of such a connection, must have been considered, in the eye of the world, as entirely on his side; and the diffidence inspired by this idea, as well as the feelings of doubt which always accompany strong attachment, seem to have made him very backward in interpreting Lady Vaughan's sentiments in his favour.

As the inequality between them existed only in matters of interest, their mutual feelings could not long be mistaken by each other. Lady Vaughan was entirely her own mistress, and they were married about the end of the year 1669, she retaining the name of Vaughan; till Mr. Russell having, by the death of his elder brother, Francis Lord Russell, succeeded to his title, she assumed that of Lady Russell.

#### HER CONDUCT AFTER HER HUSBAND'S DEATH.

Letters inform us, that from the time she left London, in August 1683, she remained at Woborn till the following spring, struggling, in the midst of a sorrowing family, with her own deeper and more peculiar affliction. Her children, at the time of their father's death, were hardly of an age to feel their loss; still less to appreciate the blessing remaining to them in their mother. Her son was an infant not three years old; and her daughters, at the age of nine and of seven, rather made her "heart shrink" (as she herself owns) from the recollection of the pleasure their father took in their society, than that it could afford much relief to herself. But, in her children, her duties to her husband were now concentrated; and from her children she looked for the only motives which could at present reconcile her to live, or in future interest her in life.

#### THE REVOLUTION.

The young Lady Cavendish was present with her mother-in-law, the Countess of Devonshire, at the proclamation of William and Mary, and accompanied her to their first drawing-room in the evening of the same day. The following account which she gives of it, in a letter to some young friend in the country, is interesting, from the memorable events and persons of which she speaks, as an eye-witness:

"February



"February, 1689.

"It is a great affliction to me to be so far from my dear beloved Silvia, and to hear from her so seldom: how happy shall I be when I see you next; how many things have I to tell you; for I dare not trust affairs of so great concern in a letter. But when will that time come? I do not hear you speak of removing yet, to my grief. Pray leave your ugly prison as soon as you can, and come to your Dorinda.\* But now to my news: The House of Lords did vote that the prince and princess should be made king and queen, and it was carried by a good many voices; for Lord Nottingham, and many more, came off. Lord Nottingham had a great mind to come off before, but could not tell which way: then the Commons agreed also that the prince and princess should be king and queen, but that the prince should have the sole administration of affairs in his hands; that the princess should be no subject neither, as Queen Katherine and Queen Mary were, but a sovereign queen, and her name put in everything; but still he the management of affairs. This they agreed upon, and so did the Lords; then they went to the grievances, (that is) the too great power of the crown. After they had agreed upon what power to give the king, and what to take away from him, (the particulars of which I cannot tell you,) my Lord Halifax, who is chairman, went to the Banqueting-House, where the princess and prince were, and made them a short speech, desiring them, in the name of all the Lords, to accept of the crown. The prince answered him in a few words, and the princess made curtsies. They say, when they named her father's faults, she looked down as if she was troubled; then Mr. Powle, the Speaker of the House of Commons, showed the prince what they had agreed of, but made no speech. After this ceremony was ended, they proclaimed them king and queen of England. Many of the churchmen would not have had it done that day, because it was Ash-Wednesday. I was at the sight, and you may imagine very much pleased to see Ormanzor and Phenixana

\* These names, given to herself and to her correspondent, and afterwards to the king and queen, were taken from some of the fashionable romances of the day, perhaps *Clelia*; as, in a letter addressed to Lady Cavendish, just before her marriage, the writer says: "There will be no talking to your sister when she has read *Clelia*; for the wise folks say, it is the most improving book can be read." *Dev. MSS.*

proclaimed King and Queen of England, in the room of King James, my father's murderer. There were wonderful acclamations of joy, which, though they were very pleasing to me, yet they frightened me too; for I could not but think what a dreadful thing it is to fall into the hands of the rabble—they are such a strange sort of people. At night I went to court with my Lady Devonshire, and kissed the queen's hand, and the king's also. There was a world of bonfires, and candles almost in every house, which looked extremely pretty. The king applies himself mightily to business, and is wonderfully admired for his great wisdom and prudence in ordering all things. He is a man of no presence, but looks very homely at first sight; but, if one looks long on him, he has something in his face both wise and good. But, as for the queen, she is really altogether very handsome; her face is very agreeable, and her shape and motions extremely graceful and fine. She is tall, but not so tall as the last queen. Her room was mighty full of company, as you may guess."

One of the first acts of the government of William and Mary, after its peaceable establishment, was the reversal of Lord Russell's attainder.

His execution was already denominated a "murder," by a vote of the House of Commons; and a committee was appointed to enquire who were "its advisers and promoters," as well as of that of all the other persons who had suffered for the Rye-House plot. The publicity and length of their proceedings, and the examination of a multitude of witnesses, raked-up every circumstance, and refreshed every recollection which Lady Russell was in vain struggling to forget. Thus, while her feelings must have been highly gratified by the result of this enquiry, they were severely shaken by the measures which necessarily preceded it.

#### HER OLD AGE.

She now began to perceive the approaches of infirmity, and to feel it particularly, in the alarming form of a rapidly increasing dimness of sight. She complains of the badness of her eyes in the year 1689; but seems not to have been aware of any local disease in them, till about two years afterwards, when her increased blindness obliges her to take advice, to abstain from writing by candle-light, and shortly after from reading.

It has been said that Lady Russell wept herself blind: this is not a true statement of her case; for, although she tells

tells us herself "My eyes are ever ready to pour out the marks of a sorrowful heart, which I must even carry to my grave," the complaint in her sight proved to be a cataract on her left eye,—a disease which is known to have no connection with the lachrymal ducts.

Her bodily ills, and the cruel prospect of blindness, she seems to have supported with the same patient magnanimity, and to have allowed them to interfere almost as little with her duties, as she had done the sufferings of her mind. "While I can see at all, I must do a little more than I can when God sees it best that outward darkness shall fall upon me, which will deprive me of all society at a distance, which I esteem exceeding profitable and pleasant."

Happily, the operation of couching for a cataract was already known and practised in England. It was successfully performed on Lady Russell's eye in the following June. Her hand-writing, after this period, testifies how much her sight, and power of employing it, were improved. It was a considerable time, however, before she ventured to write much with her own hand. In a letter of the 13th of August, 1695, in the first part of which she had made use of an amanuensis, she says, "I venture to write thus much with my first eye; my new one does not yet alter much, though I think I do feel better than at first; but there is something still before it."

The lenient influence of eleven years had now soothed the acuteness of her sorrows. She had seen the government which had oppressed her, proscribed—the power which she had found implacable, fallen in the dust—the religion whose political predominance she dreaded, in circumstances to require that toleration which it was believed unwilling to allow—the man whose vindictive spirit had inflicted the great misfortune of her life, himself an exile, after having ineffectually implored assistance from the father of him whom he had persecuted. She had seen the triumph of those principles for which her beloved lord had suffered, the immense effects produced by a steady adherence to them, and his name now for ever coupled with the honour and the freedom of his country.

In private life, too, she had repeated occasions to experience the interest her conduct and character had inspired to all that approached her. Neither the humility of her truly Christian mind, nor the unfading sense she still entertained of her irreparable loss, could prevent her

receiving rational consolation from the consciousness of having deserved, as well as obtained, such sentiments. Her heart was neither enfeebled by age, nor deadened by suffering. At a much more advanced period of life, we see, in a letter to her cousin Lord Galway, how alive she even then was, at the age of 76, to the opinions, the feelings, the affection of her friends, to honest praise, and to the luxury of loving and being beloved.

#### HER DOMESTIC AFFLICTIONS.

Lady Russell now saw her son established in all the honours of his race, with a wife, who seems to have justified the choice she had made for him, and by whom he was the happy father of several children. It might have been hoped, that the sorrows of Lady Russell were now over; that the severe afflictions of her former life might, according to the common allotments of good and evil, have exempted her from the grief of other premature losses, before the end of her career; the rather as her children, being those of a second marriage, made the difference of age between them and herself considerable: but she was doomed yet to suffer in those affections to which she was peculiarly alive. Her son, whose health as a child, whose education as a youth, and whose success as a man, she had watched over with such unwearied and rational attention; on whom she had concentrated all that she felt for the last representative of her own family, as well as for that of her still-lamented lord;—in the midst of health, and the vigour of life, was seized with the small-pox.

The small-pox was at this time, and during the beginning of the eighteenth century, a plague, which deserved that appellation almost as much as the disease to which it had been appropriated.\* Beauty and youth saddened at its sound. Parents fled with their children from its approach, and often were obliged to fly from their children, for fear of themselves falling a sacrifice, and abandoning those that might survive. It separated the nearest and dearest relatives, in circumstances when they are peculiarly necessary to each other. It was a danger for ever present, for ever suggesting

\* In some of the eastern counties, and particularly Essex, they had, till very lately, pest-houses, at a small distance from the villages, for the reception of small-pox patients.



ing vexatious precautions, in the vain hope to avoid; and, when encountered, creating a despair which helped on the disease. The upper orders of society were as much exposed to its ravages as the lower. Indeed, the mistaken manner in which it was treated by the physicians, left those persons the best chance who were least the objects of their care.\*

This evil has now been so long removed from us, as not to allow sufficient justice to be done, or sufficient gratitude felt, for the two great discoveries, the first of which subdued, and the second has almost annihilated, this scourge of human nature in social life.

Neither inoculation, nor the vaccine, had been heard of in the times of which we are speaking. The Duke of Bedford caught the small-pox naturally, and fell a sacrifice to it before the age of thirty-one.

As soon as the disorder had declared itself, his wife † and children were obliged to fly from him. At his death-bed we find only his mother, receiving his last words, soothing his last moments, and pointing his last thoughts to that heaven, which she was again to prove gives means of support in present, and of consolation in future, for all misfortunes, however severe or repeated, to which we have not ourselves contributed.

How deeply she felt the death of her son, a letter to Lord Galway, mentioning the particulars of his last moments, gives us an affecting picture:—"Alas! my dear Lord Galway, my thoughts are yet all disorder, confusion, and amazement; and I think I am incapable of saying or doing any thing I should. I did not know the greatness of my love to his person till I could see it no more."

From this loss she could hardly have recovered the composure which her unfeigned piety, and submission to the will of Heaven, could alone produce, when, in the November following, her younger daughter, the Duchess of Rutland, after having been the mother of nine children, died in child-bed.

Of her death Lady Russell has left us no particulars. We only know, that as her eldest daughter, the Duchess of Devonshire, was at the time lying in,

Lady Russell had the resolution to conceal from her her sister's death at the moment it happened; and, to prevent her from hearing it suddenly, avoided the too particular enquiries of the Duchess of Devonshire, by saying that she had that day "seen her sister out of bed," when, in fact, she had seen her in her coffin!

#### HER DEATH.

Lady Russell had attained the age of eighty-six, before she was summoned to pay the debt of nature. Of her last illness we know little.

In the *Weekly Journal or Saturday's Post*, September 28th, 1723, a newspaper of the day, it is mentioned, that "the Lady Russell, widow of the Lord William Russell that was beheaded, continues dangerously ill." In another *Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer*, October 5th, 1723, her death is thus recorded: "The Right Honourable the Lady Russell, relict of Lord William Russell, died on Sunday morning last, at five o'clock, at Southampton House, aged eighty-six, and her corpse is to be carried to Chenies, in Buckinghamshire, to be interred with that of her lord." The *London Journal* of the following week, Saturday, October 12, 1723, mentions that "on Tuesday morning last, the corpse of the Lady Russell was carried from her house in Bloomsbury-square, to its interment at Chenies, in Buckinghamshire." This is all the notice taken of Lady Russell's death by the newspapers of the day.

#### SACHARISSA.

Dorothy Sidney Countess of Sunderland, was the eldest daughter of Robert Sidney Earl of Leicester, by Dorothy Percy, daughter of Henry Earl of Northumberland. She was born about the year 1620, and married, in 1639, Henry Spencer Lord Spencer, of Wormleighton, and afterwards Earl of Sunderland. He was killed at the battle of Edgehill, leaving his widow at the age of twenty-three, with a son and two daughters.

The long and remarkable political career of her son, Robert Earl of Sunderland, is perhaps more known than that of any of his contemporaries. Her eldest daughter was the first wife of Sir George Saville, successively Viscount, Earl, and Marquis, of Halifax. Her second daughter died unmarried. She herself, after remaining ten years a widow, re-married in 1659 Robert Smythe, esq. the eldest son of Sir John Smythe, of Bounds, in Kent, by whom she had a son, Robert, the grandfather of Sir Sidney

\* Of the members of the Royal Family who returned to England at the Restoration, three died of the small-pox within the first year, and it is well known that Queen Mary and Queen Anne's son, both died of the same disease.

† She died of the same disease, in 1724.

ney Stafford Smythe, who died without issue Chief Baron of the Exchequer, in 1778.

This lady, although a daughter of the illustrious house of Sidney, the niece of Sir Philip, and the sister of Algernon, is most known to posterity from having been celebrated by Waller, under the name of Sacharissa. She seems, both by her personal beauty and her talents, to have merited the eulogies bestowed on her, better than most of the real or imaginary mistresses of poets.

LADY HARRIET WENTWORTH, AND  
CALISTO.

Lady Henrietta Wentworth, was the daughter of Thomas Viscount Wentworth, eldest son of Thomas Wentworth Earl of Cleveland, the first and last Earl of Cleveland of that name. Her father dying before her grandfather, she succeeded, on the death of the latter, in 1664, to the barony of Wentworth, and would, in these more accurate days, have been called Lady Wentworth, and not Lady Harriet Wentworth, by which name she is known to posterity as the tender attached friend (to avoid the opprobrious name of mistress) of the unfortunate Duke of Monmouth. She did not survive him a twelvemonth, dying unmarried in 1686. See Burnet's affecting account of the Duke of Monmouth's interview with the Bishops of Ely and Bath and Wells, previous to his execution, and his sentiments to them on the subject of his connection with Lady Harriet Wentworth.

In Dryden's *Miscellany* there is an epilogue, "intended to have been spoken by the Lady Henrietta Maria Wentworth, when *Calisto* was acted at court, by Mr. Dryden." See Dryden's *Miscellany*, vol. i. That it was not spoken, proceeded from the malicious interference of Lord Rochester, according to Mr. Malone, in his *Life of Dryden*. The same exact biographer gives the following remarkable *Dramatis Personæ* of the masque of *Calisto*, which was rehearsed and acted above thirty times, at Whitehall, in the year 1675.

*Calisto*, - by the Lady Mary, afterwards Queen.  
*Nyphe*, . . . . . Lady Anne, afterwards Queen.  
*Jupiter*, . . . . . Lady Henrietta Wentworth.  
*Juno*, . . . . . Countess of Sussex, daughter of the Duchess of Cleveland.  
*Psecas*, . . . . . Lady Mary Mordaunt.  
*Diana*, . . . . . Mrs. Blagge, late Maid of Honour to the Queen.

*Mercury*, . . . . Mrs. Sarah Jennings, afterwards Duchess of Marlborough.

*Nymphs attending Diana, and Performers in the Dancers.*

The Countess of Derby.

The Countess of Pembroke.

Lady Catherine Herbert.

Mrs. Fitzgerald } Maids of Honour to  
Mrs. Fraser . . . } the Queen.

*Male Dancers.*

The Duke of Monmouth.

Viscount Dumblaine.

Lord Daincourt.

Mr. Trevor.

Mr. Harpe.

Mr. Lane.

This masque of *Calisto* was written by Crowne, an obscure poet, whose works have now sunk into the oblivion they merit. He was then under the capricious patronage of Lord Rochester, at whose request he was entrusted with this composition, for the generous purpose of mortifying poor Dryden, to whom, as Poet-Laureate, the job would naturally have belonged. Evelyn, in his *Diary*, thus mentions being at this performance:

"15th November, 1674.—Saw a comedy at night, at Court, acted by the ladies only; amongst them, Lady Mary and Lady Ann, his Royal Highness's two daughters, and my dear friend Mrs. Blagge, who, having the principal part, performed it to admiration. They were all covered with jewels."—And again, on the 22d November, he says, "Was at the repetition of the pastoral, on which occasion Mrs. Blagge had about her near 20,000*l.* worth of jewels, of which she lost one worth about 8*l.* borrowed of the Countess of Suffolk. The press was so great, that it is a wonder she lost no more. The Duke (of York) made it good."

See repeated mention made, in the same *Diary*, of the admirable character of this young lady, who had been a Maid of Honour to Catherine of Braganza. She married, in May 1675, Mr. Sidney Godolphin, then Groom of the Bedchamber to Charles the Second, afterwards made by him Secretary of State, and created a peer in 1684, and Lord Treasurer and Earl of Godolphin by Queen Anne, in 1702. His virtuous and accomplished wife lived not to partake of these honours: she died in child-bed, within three years after her marriage, leaving an only son, who afterwards married the eldest daughter of John Duke of Marlborough. An affecting account is given of her death, her character, and her loss to her husband and her friends, in Evelyn.



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JOURNEY OF HORACE FROM ROME TO  
BRUNDISIUM, ON THE APPIAN WAY.

**H**ITHERTO I have considered this interesting line of road as an antiquary and artist. I have endeavoured to illustrate its antiquities, and point out the natural beauties that accompany it. I shall now exhibit its course in a more classical point of view; and with such companions as Mæcenas, Virgil, and Horace, I flatter myself that a repetition of the journey will neither prove tedious nor unamusing.

This journey to Brundisium, which gave rise to the poet's entertaining narrative, originated from the desire of effecting a reconciliation between Octavius Cæsar and Mark Antony, who had long been rivals for power and empire. Mæcenas was the chief promoter of this friendly plan, and most probably persuaded Horace, the mutual friend of Octavius and himself, to join the party, and add his interest to that of their other friends.

The poet quitted Rome in company with Heliodorus, a learned rhetorician, and rested the first night at Aricia, (now La Riccia), where they were not very well accommodated.

"Egressum magnâ me excepit Aricia Româ  
Hospitio modico: rhetor comes Heliodorus,  
Græcorum longè doctissimus."

MONTHLY MAG. No. 328.

With Heliodorus, who by far possess'd  
More learning than the tribe of Greeks  
profess'd,

Leaving imperial Rome, I took my way  
To poor Aricia, where that night I lay.

From thence he continued his journey to Appi Forum, which derived its name from Appius Claudius, the founder of the celebrated *Via Appia*, on which this place was situated. Here passengers embarked on-board vessels, which conveyed them on a canal called Decennovium to the neighbourhood of Terracina; and here our travellers had, doubtless, good reason to complain of the badness of the water, the croaking of the frogs, and the impertinence of the boatmen. How humourously has the poet described his adventures at this halting place:

" . . . . . inde Forum Appi  
Differtum nautis, cauponibus atque malignis.  
Hic ego, propter aquam, quod erat teterrima,  
ventri  
Indico bellum, cœnantes haud animo æquo  
Expectans comites."

To Forum Appii thence we steer, a place  
Stuff'd with rank boatmen, and with vintners  
base.

The water here was of so foul a stream,  
Against my stomach I a war proclaim;  
And wait, though not with much good-humour, wait

While with keen appetites my comrades eat.

In the same vein of good-humour, notwithstanding the privation of supper, the poet continues his narration of the nightly scenes that ensued on the passengers' embarking.

" . . . . . sam nox inducere teris  
Umbras, et cœlo diffundere signa parabat.  
Tum pueri nautis, pueris convicia nautæ  
Ingerere. Huc appelle; trecentos inseris; ohe!  
Jam satis est. Dum æs exigitur, dum mula  
ligatur

Tota abit hora. Mali culices ranæque  
palustres

Avertunt somnos: Absentem ut cantat  
amicam

Multâ prolutus vappâ nauta, atque viator  
Incipit; ac missæ pastum retinacula mulæ  
Nauta piger saxo religat, stertitque supinus.  
Jamque dies aderat, nil quum procedere  
lintrem

Sentimus; donec cerebrosus prosilit unus,  
Ac mulæ nautæque caput lumbosque saligno  
Fuste dolat. Quartâ vix demum exponimur  
horâ."

The night o'er earth now spread her dusky  
shade,

And through the heavens her starry train  
display'd

What time, between the slaves and boatmen  
rise

Quarrels of clamorous rout. The boatman  
cries,

4 M

"Step

'Step in, my masters:' when, with open throat,

"Enough, you scoundrel! will you sink the boat?"

Thus, while the mule is harness'd, and we pay  
Our freight, an hour in wrangling slips away.  
The fenny frogs, with croakings hoarse and deep,

And gnats, loud buzzing, drive away our sleep.  
Drench'd in the lees of wine, the wat'ry swain,  
And passenger, in loud alternate strain,  
Chaunt forth the absent fair who warms his breast,

Till weary'd passenger retires to rest.  
Our clumsy bargemansends his mule to graze,  
And the tough cable to a rock belays,  
Then snores supine; but when, at rising light,  
Our boat stood still, up starts a hair-brain'd wight,

With sallow cudgel breaks the bargeman's pate,

And bangs the mule at a well-favour'd rate.

Liberated at length from such accommodations, and from such companions, with what joy did the travellers refresh themselves at the pure streams of Feronia's fountain; and with what anxiety did they anticipate the meeting of Mecænas and Cocceius at Anxur.

"Ora manusque tuâ lavimus, Feronia, lymphâ ;

Millia tum pransi tria repimus, atque subimus  
Impositum saxis latè candentibus Anxur.

Huc venturus erat Mecænas,\* optimus at que  
Cocceius† missi magnis de rebus uterque  
Legati; aversos soliti componere amicos."

At ten, Feronia, we thy fountain gain;  
There land, and bathe; then, after dinner, creep  
Three tedious miles, and climb the rocky steep,  
Whence Anxur shines. Mecænas was to meet  
Cocceius here, to settle things of weight;  
For they had oft in embassy been join'd,  
And reconcil'd the masters of mankind.‡

\* We find few characters of antiquity more deservedly celebrated than that of Mecænas. He was the friend and adviser of the Emperor Augustus, and the associate of Virgil and Horace. To his interference the former is said to have owed the restitution of his lands, and the latter his forgiveness, for having espoused the cause of Brutus at the battle of Philippi. His encouragement of literature was so great, that patrons of it were, from him, called Mecænates.—*Lempriere*.

† Cocceius Nerva, a friend of Horace and Mecænas, and grandfather to the Emperor Nerva. He was one of those who settled the disputes between Augustus and Antony. He afterwards accompanied Tiberius to his retreat in Campania, and starved himself to death.—*Lempriere*.

‡ The object of Mecænas and Cocceius, in this journey, is here alluded to, namely,

At Anxur, better known in modern times by the name of Terracina, Mecænas, accompanied by Cocceius and Capito Fonteius, joined Horace and his friend Heliodorus. Fonteius Capito, whom the poet describes, was a man, *factus ad unguem*,\* of the most polished and accomplished manners, and a friend to Antony.

" . . . Interea Mecænas advenit, atque  
Cocceius, Capitoque simul Fonteius, ad unguem

Factus homo; Antoni, non ut magis alter, amicus."

Here while I bath'd my eyes with cooling ointment,

They both arriv'd, according to appointment.  
Fonteius too, a man of worth approv'd,  
Without a rival, by Antonius lov'd.

Passing through the town of Fundi, where, not without ridicule, they took leave of the Prætor Aufidius Luscus, they proceeded to the town of the Mamuræ, having Murena as their host, and Capito as their *restaurateur*.

"Fundos, Aufidio Lusco prætore, libenter  
Linquimus, insani ridentes præmia scribæ,  
Prætextum, et latum clavum, prunæque battillum.

In† Mamurrarum lassi descendimus urbem  
Murenâ præbentē domum, Capitone culinam."

Laughing, we leave an entertainment rare,  
The paltry pomp of Fundi's foolish mayor,  
The

the reconciliation of Antony with Augustus.

\* This figurative expression is taken from engravers in wood or marble, who were accustomed to pass their nail over the work, to know if it were well polished.

† The annotator on Horace makes the following observation on this passage, *In Mamurrarum urbe*. The stroke of satire here is of a delicate and almost imperceptible malignity. Formiæ, the real name of the city which Horace alludes to, belonged to the Lamian family, whose antiquity conferred an honour upon it. But our poet paraphrases it by the name of a person who was born there, and who had made his country famous in a very different manner. Mamurra was a Roman knight, so infamous for his rapine, luxury, and debauchery, that he was styled by the poet Catullus *Decoctor Formianus*.

Lempriere distinguishes Mamurra under the title of a Roman knight born at Formiæ, who followed the fortune of Cæsar in Gaul, where he greatly enriched himself. He built a magnificent palace on the Cælian hill, in Rome, and was the first who encrusted his walls with marble.

I have, in a former tour, observed, that the remembrance of Mamurra is still preserved in the name of a village on the road to Naples.



The scrivener Luscus ; now with pride elate,  
With incense fum'd, and big with robes of  
state.

From thence our weary'd troop at Formiæ  
rests,

Murena's lodgers, and Fonteius' guests.

The morning sun of the ensuing day  
shone propitiously upon the travellers at  
Sinuessa, and added Plotius, Varius, and  
Virgilius, to their party. With what  
natural joy, friendship, and affection,  
does Horace express himself on this  
happy meeting,—with no poetical jea-  
lousy, but with the pure emanations of a  
feeling heart.

"Proxima lux oritur multò gratissima,  
namque

Plotius et Varius Sinuessæ,\* Virgiliusque  
Occurrunt, animæ, quales neque candidiores  
Terra tulit; neque quis me sit devinctior  
alter."

Next rising morn, with double joy we greet,  
When we with Plotius,† Varius, Virgil, meet.  
Purer spirits these; the world no purer knows;  
For none my heart with such affection glows.

From Sinuessa the learned junto pro-  
ceeded, on the Appian Way, to the next  
station of Pons Campanus, where the  
officers distinguished by the name of  
*parochi* supplied them with salt and  
wood. From thence they continued their  
route to Capua, where both travellers  
and mules rested. Mæcenas went to  
play; Horace and Virgil, to sleep.

"Proxima Campano ponti quæ villula,  
tectum

Præbuit; et parochi,‡ quæ debent, ligna,  
salemque.

Hinc muli Capuæ clitellas tempore ponunt.  
Lusum it Mæcenas, dormitum ego Vir-  
giliusque."

Near the Campanian bridge that night we lay,  
Where public officers our charges pay.

Early next morn to Capua we came.

Mæcenas goes to tennis, hurtful game

\* It is rather singular, that no mention  
should have been made by Horace of the  
city of Minturnæ, which was a station on  
the Appian Way between Formiæ and  
Sinuessa.

† Plotius and Varius were intimately  
acquainted with Horace and Virgil, and  
were appointed by Augustus to revise the  
Æneid of Virgil.

‡ Before the consulship of Lucius Post-  
humus, the magistrates of Rome travel-  
led at the public charge, without being  
burthensome to the provinces. Afterwards  
commissaries were appointed in the great  
roads, to defray all expenses of those who  
were employed in the business of the state.  
They were obliged, by the *Lex Julia de*  
*provinciis*, to provide lodging, fire, salt,  
hay, and straw.—*Editor of Horace.*

To a weak appetite and tender eyes;  
So down to sleep with Virgil, Horace lies.

Their next halting-place was at Cau-  
dium, where they were hospitably re-  
ceived at the noble villa of Cocceius,  
situated above the Caudian tavern.

"Hinc nos Coccei recipit plenissima villa  
Quæ super est Claudî cauponas."

Then by Cocceius we were nobly treated,  
Whose house above the Caudian tavern's  
seated.

The poet now takes an opportunity of  
relating, with humour, a squabble that  
took place between Messius and Sar-  
mentus, which I shall not insert, it being  
only an episode to our journal. The  
party now proceeds to Beneventum,  
where the too attentive host set his house  
on fire by roasting a dish of lean thrushes.

"Tendimus hinc recta Beneventum, ubi  
sedulus hospes

Pæne arsit, macros dum turdos versat in  
igne."

At our next inn our host was almost burn'd,  
While some lean thrushes at the fire he  
turn'd:

Through his old kitchen rolls the god of fire,  
And to the roof the vagrant flames aspire.  
But hunger all our terrors overcame,  
We fly to save our meat, and quench the  
flame.

Our travellers now approached the  
mountainous district of Apulia, and  
baited at the village of Trivicus, where  
the god of fire still persecuted them with  
volumes of smoke.

"Incipit ex illo montes Apulia notos  
Ostentare mihi, quos torret Atabulus, et quos  
Nunquam erepsemus, nisi nos vicina Trivici\*  
Villa recepisset, lachrymoso non sine fumo,  
Udos cum foliis ramos urente camino."

Apulia now my native mountains shews,  
Where the north wind with nipping sharpness  
blows.

Nor could we well have climb'd the steepy  
height,

Did we not at a neighbouring village bait,  
Where from green wood the smothering  
flames arise,

And with a smoky sorrow fill our eyes.

Our poet finds himself at a loss to ex-  
press, *in verse*, the name of the little  
town which next received them, and  
which he places at the distance of twen-  
ty-four miles from the Villa Trivica, and  
where he again had reason to complain  
of bad water; though the bread was of so  
excellent

\* We may still recognize the ancient  
Trivicus in the modern Vico, which is situ-  
ated directly east from Beneventum, and  
between it and Ascoli.

excellent a quality, that travellers were accustomed to carry a supply of it with them to Canosa, where the bread was gritty.

"Quatuor hinc rapimur viginti et millia rhedis,

Mansuri oppidulo, quod versu dicere non est :\*

Signis perfacile est. Venit vilissima rerum  
Hic aqua: sed panis longè pulcherrimus,  
ultra

Callidus ut soleat humeris portare viator :  
Nam Canusi lapidosus; aquæ non ditior  
urna."

In coaches thence, at a great rate we came  
Eight leagues, and baited at a town, whose  
name

Cannot in verse and measure be exprest,  
But may by marks and tokens well be guest.  
Its water, nature's cheapest element,  
Is bought and sold; its bread, most excellent,  
Which wary travellers provide with care,  
And on their shoulders to Canusium bear,  
Whose bread is sandy, and its wealthiest  
stream

Poor as the town's of unpoetic name.

At Canosa the travellers had the mortification of losing Varius, who quitted the party with general regret.

"Flentibus hic Varius discedit mæstus amicis."

Here Varius leaves us, and with tears he goes :

With equal tenderness our sorrow flows.

After a tedious and wet journey, the travellers proceeded to Rubi, now Ruvo; and on the next day reached Bari, on the sea-coast: the weather more favourable, the road worse.

"Inde Rubosfessi pervenimus, utpote longum Carpentès iter, et factum corruptius imbri. Postera tempestas melior, via pejor ad usque Barî mœnia piscosi."

Onward to Rubi wearily we toil'd,  
The journey long, the road with rain was  
spoil'd.

To Bari, fam'd for fish, we reach'd next day;  
The weather fairer, but much worse the way.

\* It is generally supposed, that this little town was Equotuticus, or Equomagnus, by each of which titles it is noticed in the ancient itineraries, and placed at the distance of twenty-one or twenty-two miles from Beneventum. But our poet is not quite clear with regard to distances, if we give credit to the itineraries; for he makes the distance between the Villa Trivici, and the *Oppidulum quod versu dicere non est*, to be twenty-four miles; whereas, according to all the itineraries, the whole distance from Equotuticum to Beneventum, does not exceed twenty-two miles.

The following station was Egnatia, now Agnazzo, situated near the sea-coast, where the relation of a miracle, equal in wonder to that annually performed at Naples,\* tended to amuse the travellers.

" . . . . . Dein Gnatia lymphis  
Iratis extincta dedit risusque jocosque,  
Dum flammis sine thura liquescere limine  
sacro

Persuadere cupit. Credat Judæus Apella,  
Non ego."

Then water-curs'd Egnatia gave us joke,  
And laughter great, to hear the moon-struck  
folk

Assert, if incense on their altars lay,  
Without the help of fire it melts away.  
The sons of circumcision may receive  
The wond'rous tale; which I shall ne'er  
believe.

From Egnatia the travellers continued their route to Brundusium, now Brindisi, having passed fifteen days on the road; how pleasantly and profitably need not be questioned, when we recollect that Mæcenas, Heliodorus, Plotius, Varius, Virgilius, and Horatius, composed this party. The travellers' route was as follows:

First day,	Aricia, now La Riccia.
Second day,	Forum Appii.
Third day,	Anxur, now Terracina.
Fourth day,	Fundi, now Fondi.
Fifth day,	Formiæ, now Mola di Gaeta.
Sixth day,	Sinuessæ, near Mondragone.
Seventh day,	Pons Campanus and Capua.
Eighth day,	Caudium.
Ninth day,	Beneventum, now Benevento.
Tenth day,	Trivicum, now Vico.
Eleventh day,	Equotuticum, unknown.
Twelfth day,	Rubi, now Ruvo.
Fourteenth day,	Bari, still Bari.
Fifteenth day,	Brundusium, now Brindisi.

"Brundusium longæ finis chartæque viæque."

From thence our travellers to Brundusium bend,

Where our long journey, and my paper, end.

#### ISLAND OF CAPRI.

After a very boisterous passage, in a small open boat, I landed safely in this island; a spot rendered famous by the residence of the emperor Augustus on it, and

\* I allude to the blood of St. Januarius, which is supposed to liquify on being produced before the head of the saint. I saw this supposed miracle, and agree with Addison, that it is the most bungling trick that ever was attempted.



and infamous, by that of his successor Tiberius; an island *incesto possessa seni*, for many of the latter years of his life. In speaking of Caprea, the historian Dio says, "*Sita est haud procul a Surrentinâ continente, ad nullam quidem rem utilis; nobilis tamen, hodieque ob Tiberii inibi commorationem.*" Suetonius informs us, that it was given in exchange by Augustus for the island of Ischia; and that this exchange arose from the circumstance of an aged oak, whose decayed branches, drooping on the ground, recovered on his arrival in the island: which so rejoiced the emperor, that he exchanged the island of Ischia for that of Capri, with the Neapolitan government.

The retired situation, and almost inaccessible coast of Capræ, pointed it out as a retirement well suited to the gloomy and vicious habits of the emperor Tiberius. "*Præcipuè delectatus insulâ, quod uno parvoque littore adiretur, undique præruptis immensæ altitudinis rupibus et profundo maris.*—*Suetonius in Tiberio.*

"Tiberius having issued an edict, warning the neighbouring cities not to intrude upon his privacy, and having placed a guard at different stations to prevent all access to his person; hating the municipal towns, weary of the colonies, and disgusted with every thing upon the continent, passed over to Capræa, a small island separated from the promontory of Surrentum by an arm of the sea, not more than three miles broad. There, protected from all intrusion, and pleased with the solitude of the place, he retired from the world; finding, as may be well imagined, many objects and local circumstances suited to his inclinations: not a single port in the channel; the stations few, and only accessible to small vessels; no part of the island where men could land unobserved by the sentinels; the climate inviting; in the winter season enjoying a genial air, under the shelter of a mountain, that repelled the inclemency of the winds; the heat allayed, during the summer, by the western breeze; the sea presenting a smooth expanse, and opening a view of the bay of Naples, with a beautiful landscape on its borders: all these conspired to please the taste and genius of Tiberius. The scene, indeed, has lost much of its beauty; the fiery eruptions of Mount Vesuvius having, since that time, changed the face of the country."

The formation and appearance of this

island are singular: the eastern and western points are bounded by very high and inaccessible rocks, between which runs a strip of land through the middle of the island in a direction from north to south. The only good landing-place is on the opposite side to Naples. On the southern part of the island there is another small tract of shore, but much exposed to high winds and tempestuous seas. From the northern landing-place the ascent to the town of Capri is steep; the adjoining tract of land is highly cultivated, and produces the finest fruits and vegetables in great abundance. Here the bishop has an episcopal residence; and the king of Naples a casino, which was planned by an Englishman named Thorold, who spent many years of his life on this spot. The monarch sometimes visits his casino for the amusement of shooting quails in the spring, when the flights of those birds are very numerous: the hills also are well stocked with red-legged partridges.

The wines of the island are much esteemed, and the best are transported to Naples. At Ana Capri there is an abundance of fine oak-trees; and the hills are covered with myrtles, and a great variety of other aromatic herbs and plants. The genial mildness of the December climate is evinced by the Italian narcissus, which is now in full bloom. The air is excellent, being so well ventilated by sea-breezes during the summer months. The sea-coast is not very productive of fish, nor is much encouragement given for taking it, as three or four hundred of the best fishermen, leaving Capri during the wintry season, resort to Leghorn, and other places on the coast. The circumference of this island appears to have been exaggerated by Pliny, who estimates it at forty miles. My countryman, Addison, states it to be four miles in length from east to west, and about one in breadth.

The greater part of the island is covered with relics of ancient buildings; which, if we give credit to the establishment of twelve imperial villas upon it, may be easily accounted for. Of the fragments now remaining, those of the Pharos or light-house, and of the Villa Jovis, are most deserving of our attention. We learn from Suetonius, that the former was destroyed by an earthquake but a few days before the death of Tiberius. "*Et ante paucos quam obiret dies, turris Phari terræ motu Capreis concidit.*" This building appears to

to have been restored, as it has been thus mentioned by Statius :

"Teleboumque domos, trepidis ubi dulcia  
nautis  
Lumina noctivagæ tollit Pharus æmula lunæ."

"At Caprea, where the lanthorn fixed on high,  
Shines like a moon through the benighted sky,  
While by its beams the wary sailor steers."

ADDISON.

The site of this light-house is still satisfactorily marked by a large and rude fragment.

The Villa Jovis is supposed to have been situated on the eastern part of the island, near the Pharos, where considerable remains of ancient structure still exist, in a situation well suited to the disposition of Tiberius. On the Monte de S. Michele there are other extensive ruins, and a long range of vaulted apartments, in a semicircular form, with the traces of an ancient road leading to the summit of the mountain. I also observed some fragments of antiquity on a hill where the fortress is placed; from whence, but a short time ago, some fine mosaic pavements, and other relics of antiquity, were removed to Naples.

On the northern sea-coast there are splendid remains of another villa, still retaining the name of Il Palazzo, and supposed to have been one of the emperor's winter residences; perhaps that of Augustus, being more genial in its site, and less inaccessible, than the others. Although the antiquary is enabled to trace with certainty and interest the vestiges of many of these supposed imperial villas, yet he will find no specimens of architecture to commend—no inscriptions to record—the former owners of the district; for, so great an abhorrence was shewn by the Romans towards this ferocious and vicious emperor, that, upon his decease, a large party of men was dispatched into the island of Caprea to demolish, and not leave even a stone standing, as a memento of those edifices, wherein such a series of abominable vices and cruelties had transpired.

Signor Hadrava has endeavoured to trace the site of the twelve villas ascribed to Tiberius, and has placed them in the following situations.

No. 1. Villa Jovis, on the eastern part of the island, where he supposes the palace of Augustus also stood, and which was afterwards enlarged by his successor Tiberius.

2. The site of the second villa is now occupied by the Chapel of S. Michele,

on a hill opposite to the promontory on which the Villa Jovis was placed.

3. He fixes the third in the valley of Matromania, between two hills, called Tuoro grande, and Tuoro piccolo.

4. The fourth stood *nella falda*, or side of the Tuoro grande, before you come to Tregara, where the remains of a grand aqueduct, &c. are still visible.

5. The fifth at the Camarelle, where our author has fixed the scene of the emperor's gross festivities.

6. He places the sixth on the site of the Carthusian convent, towards the Monticello.

7. The seventh at Castiglione, under the fortress.

8. The eighth in the demesne of Mulo.

9. The ninth near Fontana, where many relics of antiquity have been found, and where many grottos still exist.

10. The tenth, called Rustica, is placed in a wood near Ajano.

11. The eleventh, in the plain called Campo Episcopio.

12. Twelfth, and last, is supposed by our antiquary to have been situate on the sea-coast, near La Marinella di torre; where some extensive ruins still retain the title of Palazzo.

#### THE ISLAND OF ISCHIA.

I sailed from Naples, at break of day, in a stout Ischian boat, with ten men. Partly by rowing, and partly by the help of a fresh breeze, I was safely conveyed to the Island of Ischia in four hours and a half. The distance is computed at eighteen miles.

With pleasure I looked backed on the well-known shores of Pausilippo, Pozzuoli, Baiæ, and Misenum; the beauties and antiquities of which had called forth all my classical enthusiasm. I passed close under the Island of Procida; whose fortress, towering on its highest point, and backed by the lofty and precipitous mountains of Ischia, formed an object highly picturesque. This island is flat and well cultivated, and the natural industry of the inhabitants is rewarded by ease, and even affluence. I was told, that no less than two hundred of the vessels called tartans belonged to the inhabitants; and I observed many riding in the harbour. Between twenty and thirty of these are owned by one proprietor. This island disputed with Salerno the honour of giving birth to the celebrated Giovanni di Procida, the contriver of the well-known insurrection against the French, and a principal actor in the massacre distinguished by the title of the Sicilian Vespers.



To the most superficial observer, the surface of this island exhibits the effects of fire, and volcanic productions; besides many craters, long extinct; and strata of lava, in different stages of vegetation. The lava of the most recent eruption, in 1301, even now bears only a few scattered blades of grass, and some weeds. Hence we may judge how slowly nature operates on this hard substance, when not assisted by the soil washed down from the declivities of mountains, or waisted by the wind. If we examine the many craters with which this spot abounds, particularly the large crater between Ischia and Testaccio, close to the side of the road; if we next turn our view to the adjoining mountains, at present covered with a deep soil, and clothed with wood; we may calculate the high antiquity, not only of such eruptions, but of the globe itself. Indeed, amidst the various evidences which have been adduced by those authors who have chosen to controvert the general opinion on the supposed age of the world, none seem to carry more force than those deduced from the investigation of volcanic matter. Nor are these evidences founded on mere conjecture; for the dates of many eruptions are known; and, by tracing the strata of lava, and the marine bodies interspersed, and comparing the relative progress of vegetation over each, we may draw a very probable conclusion in regard to the age of the more remote; and, perhaps, may be induced to give the world a higher degree of antiquity than is commonly admitted.

For nearly five centuries this island has ceased to exhibit any volcanic eruption; but the numerous hot springs, which continue to emit their vapour, prove that subterraneous fire still exists. Besides these warm springs, however, there are others of an opposite nature; and, from the same mountain which produces the sulphureous and medical waters, a cold spring issues, of the purest quality, and is conveyed by aqueducts to the town of Ischia.

*Inarime non ubere dives ab uno  
Fundit aquas.*

*... quot medicâ celebres virtute renident.*

The lofty mountain now bearing the name of St. Nicolo, is the Epopeus of the classic writers.

*In medio elatis caput inter nubila condit  
Rupibus, et valles latè prospectat Epopeus.*

To me it seemed an *Ætna* in miniature; and, like that mountain, it may

be divided into three regions; the lower cultivated, the middle clothed with rich groves of oaks and chesnuts, and the upper bleak and barren, producing only a few low shrubs and dwarf trees. It is not however without inhabitants; for, on this aerial summit, some hermits have fixed their abode; and no anchorite certainly ever selected a more appropriate spot. Exalted above the dwellings, as they profess to be above the passions, of men, they may look down with an eye of indifference on a prodigious expanse of territory, thickly dotted with towns and villages; and, contrasting their homely fare and tranquil situation with the cares and troubles which attend the wealth and luxury of the world beneath, they may exclaim, in the language of the poet,

*Oh cara, cara, cella,  
Felice in libertà:  
Quì poco ognun si gode,  
E ricco ognun si crede;  
Ne più bramando, impara  
Che cosa è Povertà.*

In contemplating the opposite coasts of Puteoli, Baix, and Misenum, and contrasting their past splendour with their present decline, we have a living and perpetual lesson on the frailty of human power, and the transitory nature of worldly magnificence.

The summit of the mountain is composed of a whitish earth, similar to that of the Solfaterra, near Puzzuoli, dreary and dismal to the eye; and it commands rather a striking than a pleasing view. With respect to beauty, the views from the middle region, and the less elevated part, merit a decided preference.

The island is well peopled and well cultivated. The most considerable towns are Ischia (the seat of the bishop), Furi, Laco, and Casamiccia. Of these, Furi contains the largest portion of inhabitants. The situation of Ischia is singularly picturesque. It crowns a high and rugged rock, which projects into the sea, and is connected with the island by a long pier or bridge. The whole face of this rock is covered with buildings, rising above each other in a pyramidal form, and presenting a novel and striking appearance. Little or no corn is sown, and the country is chiefly planted with vines, and other fruit-trees. Near Ischia, and towards Testaccio, the vines are trained to lofty poplar trees; but, in the vicinity of Furi, and the southern part of the island, they are not trained so high. Terraces have been constructed to remedy the inconvenience

convenience derived from the inequality of the ground, and to render the declivities productive; but the wines obtained by this mode of cultivation, unassisted by the genial rays of the sun, are little better than vinegar. Those near Furia, are white and more esteemed. The island produces abundance of figs, and its fruits in general are in high repute. The mountains, which are uncultivated, are chiefly clothed with groves of chesnut-trees, or with coppice-wood and low shrubs, such as arbutus, myrtle, heath, &c. Even in this sultry season, the whole island exhibits a most lively verdure; and the numerous habitations scattered along the declivities, add much to the gaiety of the prospect. The air is pure and elastic; creates an appetite, and renders the body alert and active. Horses and carriages are almost as rare here as at Venice; and asses are chiefly used, both for burthen and riding. An excellent road is now making from Ischia to Furia, which, though unfinished, is practicable on horseback.

Enough I think has been said, to shew the gratification which the man of taste and letters may experience, by following my footsteps in Ischia. The artist, who makes landscape painting his pursuit, and who seeks to enlarge his ideas by studying nature in every garb, will here find scenes of a domestic, rather than of a shewy, character; consisting of delightful cottages, extensive vineyards, and rich groves of chesnuts, &c. &c. But the position and construction of the town of Ischia will appear no less novel than picturesque: while the waving shores of Baiæ, Misenum, and Puteoli, and the more distant coasts of Naples and Sorrento, will be viewed and copied with equal satisfaction and advantage. Much, however, as this spot may please the artist, it will awaken a higher feeling in the mind of the scholar. Here he will find his recollection quickened, and his ideas expanded; here he will re-consider in reality the scenes which in description captivated his youthful fancy; here he may at once indulge his memory and his eye, by contemplating prospects no less delightful to the view, than gratifying to the understanding.

#### PALERMO.

At different epochs Palermo has held the rank of a metropolis. As it was the capital of the Saracens, we may readily account for many interesting and valuable monuments of that nation, still existing. The palaces Zisa, Cuba, and Mare Dolce, were the habitations of the Sara-

cen princes. The Zisa, together with a small mosque adjoining, on the battlements of which some Saracenic inscriptions appear, is in a perfect state of preservation. An ambassador from Morocco, who was here some time ago, was much struck with it, and said, the plan of the building was similar to those of such edifices in his own country. A large apartment, in the third story, he pronounced to be the Council Chamber. The summit of this edifice commands a striking view of the beautiful and fertile plain and garden of Palermo, surrounded by lofty and majestic mountains, broken into the most picturesque forms, together with the port, sea, &c. and the adjacent islands.

The first entrance to Palermo, through the Porta Felice, is very striking, as the whole extent of the city is caught at a single glance. The internal disposition of the place is at once admirable and magnificent. Two streets, each a mile long, cross it at right angles; and at the intersection is an octangular space, called Piazza Vigliena, of regular architecture. From hence, the view to the north is terminated by the Porta Felice and the sea, and to the south by the Porta Nuova, the mountains, and castle above Monreale. The pavement of the streets is flat, and the houses are lofty. Those in the Cassaro, being nearly uniform in height, form an avenue, striking from its length, with footways on each side. The best building in this range is the Palazzo Geraci; and the most striking defect in the street, is the want of breadth in proportion to the height of the houses. Here we see a vast concourse of people, and the best shops; and here only have we reason to say that Sicily is not depopulated. The circumference of the city is not above four miles. Some handsome gateways, extensive suburbs, and a number of new buildings, indicate the increase of the inhabitants. The largest squares are those of the Palazzo, the Piano della Marina, and the space occupied by a handsome fountain near the senate-house.

I have seen no city of which the environs are so convenient, and at the same time so delightful, as those of Palermo. The description given of it by Fazellus, is at once brief and accurate. "Palermo, the capital, is situated in a fruitful plain, and on a coast which the ancients called *pulchrum littus*. On one side it is washed by the Mare Tyrrhenum; on the three others it lies open to an extensive plain, bounded by rugged and lofty



lofty mountains, entirely bare of trees. The circuit of this spacious plain is about twenty-five miles; and, like an immense amphitheatre fashioned by the hand of nature, it affords the highest delight to those who look down on it from some of the neighbouring eminences."

From the fertility and cultivation of its soil, this plain deserves the name of *totus hortus*, and the beauty of the coast merits no less that of *pulchrum littus*. Were I to describe or paint the charms of this delightful situation, I would take my post on the platform of the Saracen castle Zisa. Here at one glance the eye embraces the whole circuit, and the grandest natural amphitheatre I ever beheld. On one side, the city, which lies too low to be seen except from an eminence, with its port and vessels, enclosed on one hand by the lofty mountain Pellegrino, where Sta. Rosalia has fixed her shrine; and, on the other, by Capo Zaffarano, the summit of which was crowned by the ancient city of Soluntum, like Palermo, inhabited by the Phœnicians; the beautiful intervening coast, leading to the Bagaria, behind which is the lofty mountain of St. Calogero, the more distant heights near Cefalù, and some of the islands. Turning towards the north, the spectator may trace the eastern side of this capacious amphitheatre, and admire the rugged and picturesque forms of the adjacent mountains, with the convents of Sta. Maria di Gesu, La Grazia, and Badia, seated on their declivities; together with the city of Monreale, surmounted by its Norman castle. He may then wander in imagination to the rich and luxurious retreat of the Benedictine monks at St. Martino, buried in the recesses of the mountains, behind the Castellazzo. After surveying the remainder of this noble amphitheatre, he may contemplate its cheerful, gay, and crowded *arena*: cheerful, from the fertility of the soil and varied appearance of the cultivation; and gay, from the innumerable and glowing tints of its natural productions.

## PETER'S LETTERS

To his Kinsfolk.

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[Readers who delight in the notes of Nicholls, or in the small-talk of Dibden, may receive gratification from the garrulity of Dr. PETER MORRIS, of Aberystwith, a Welch tourist, who seems to have taken the pains to discover of various Scottish men and things, more

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than most of the parties ever suspected of themselves. We imagine that this gentleman has been well paid for his praise, by some of those who hope to profit by it; but, as many of his facts are curious, and as some of his subjects have excited attention south of the Tweed, we shall submit to our readers a few of his lively sketches of character. The work issues from the Press of BAL-LANTYNE, and from the shop of BLACKWOOD; and its accuracy cannot be suspected, as it doubtless has received its finishing touches from Messrs. LOCKHART and WILSON!]

### FIRST IMPRESSIONS OF EDINBURGH.

HERE is the capital of an ancient, independent, and heroic nation, abounding in buildings ennobled by the memory of illustrious inhabitants in the old times, and illustrious deeds of good and of evil; and in others, which hereafter will be revered by posterity, for the sake of those that inhabit them now. Above all, here is the sublimity of situation and scenery—mountains near and afar off—rocks and glens—and the sea itself almost within hearing of its waves. I was prepared to feel much; and yet you will not wonder when I tell you, that I felt more than I was prepared for. You know well that my mother was a Scotchwoman; and therefore you will comprehend, that I viewed the whole with some little of the pride of her nation. I arrived at least without prejudices against that which I should see, and was ready to open myself to such impressions as might come.

I know no city where the lofty feelings generated by the ideas of antiquity, and the multitude of human beings, are so much swelled and improved by the admixture of those other lofty, perhaps yet loftier feelings, which arise from the contemplation of free and spacious nature herself. Edinburgh, even were its population as great as that of London, could never be merely a city. Here there must always be present the idea of the comparative littleness of all human works. Here, the proudest of palaces must be content to catch the shadows of mountains; and the grandest of fortresses to appear like the dwellings of pigmies, perched on the very bulwarks of creation. Everywhere—all around—you have rocks frowning over rocks in imperial elevation, and descending, among the smoke and dust of a city, into dark depths, such as nature alone can excavate. The builders of the old city, too, appear as if they had made nature the model of their architecture. Seen through the lowering

mist which almost perpetually envelopes them, the huge masses of these erections, so high, so rugged in their outlines, so heaped together, and conglomerated and wedged into each other, are not easily to be distinguished from the yet larger and bolder forms of cliff and ravine, among which their foundations have been pitched. There is a certain gloomy indistinctness in the formation of these fantastic piles, which leaves the eye that would scrutinize and penetrate them unsatisfied and dim with gazing.

In company with the first friend I saw, (of whom more anon,) I proceeded at once to take a look of this superb city from a height, placed just over the point where the old and new parts of the town meet. These two quarters of the city, or rather these two neighbouring but distinct cities, are separated by a deep green valley, which once contained a lake, and which is now crossed at one place by a huge earthen mound, and at another by a magnificent bridge of three arches. This valley runs off towards the æstuary of the Forth, which lies about a mile and a half from the city, and between the city and the sea there rises on each side of it a hill: to the south that called Arthur's Seat, to the north the lower and yet sufficiently commanding eminence on which I now stood,—the Calton Hill.

This hill, which rises about 350 feet above the level of the sea, is in fact nothing more than a huge pile of rocks covered with a thin coating of soil, and, for the most part, with a beautiful verdure. It has lately been circled all round with spacious gravelled walks, so that one reaches the summit without the least fatigue. It seems as if you had not quitted the streets, so easy is the ascent; and yet, where did streets or city ever afford such a prospect! The view changes every moment as you proceed; yet, what grandeur of unity in the general and ultimate impression! At first, you see only the skirts of the New Town, with apparently few public edifices to diversify the grand uniformity of their outlines; then you have a rich plain, with green fields, groves, and villas, gradually losing itself in the seaport town of Edinburgh,—Leith. Leith covers for a brief space the margin of that magnificent Frith, which recedes upwards among an amphitheatre of mountains, and opens downward into the ocean, broken everywhere by green and woody isles, excepting where the bare brown rock of the Bass lifts itself

above the waters midway to the sea. As you move round, the Frith disappears, and you have Arthur's Seat in your front. In the valley between lies Holyrood, ruined, desolate, but majestic in its desolation. From thence the Old Town stretches its dark shadow,—up, in a line to the summit of the Castle rock, a royal residence at either extremity, and all between an indistinguishable mass of black tower-like structures, the concentrated “walled city,” which has stood more sieges than I can tell of.

Here we paused for a time, enjoying the majestic gloom of this most picturesque of cities. A thick blue smoke hung low upon the houses, and their outlines reposed behind on ridges of purple clouds;—the smoke, and the clouds, and the murky air, giving yet more extravagant bulk and altitude to those huge, strange dwellings, and increasing the power of contrast which met our view,—when a few paces more brought us once again upon the New Town, the airy bridge, the bright green vale below and beyond it, and, skirting the line of the vale on either side, the rough crags of the Castle rock, and the broad glare of Prince's Street, that most superb of terraces,—all beaming in the yellow open light of the sun, steeples and towers, and cupolas scattered bright beneath our feet; and, far as the eye could reach, the whole pomp and richness of distant commotion,—the heart of the city.

Such was my first view of Edinburgh. I descended again into her streets in a sort of stupor of admiration.

MR. JEFFREY.

Of all the celebrated characters of this place, I rather understand that J—— is the one whom travellers are commonly most in a hurry to see; not surely that the world in general has any such deep and abiding feeling of admiration for him, or any such longing to satisfy their eyes with gazing on his features, as they have with regard to such a man as Sc—t, or even St——t.

He was within when I called; and in a second I found myself in the presence of this bugbear of authors. He received me so kindly, (although, from the appearance of his room, he seemed to be immersed in occupation,) and asked so many questions, and said and looked so much in so short a time, that I had some difficulty in collecting my inquisitorial powers, to examine the person of the man. I know not how, there is a kind of atmosphere of activity about him; and my eyes caught so much of the



the prevailing spirit, that they darted for some minutes from object to object, and refused, for the first time, to settle themselves even upon the features of a man of genius—to them of all human things the most potent attractions.

It is a face which any man would pass without observation in a crowd, because it is small and swarthy, and entirely devoid of lofty or commanding outlines; and besides, his stature is so low, that he might walk close under your chin or mine, without ever catching the eye even for a moment. However, he is scarcely shorter than Campbell, and some inches taller than Tom Moore, or the late Monk Lewis.

Mr. J—— then, as I have said, is a very short and very active-looking man, with an appearance of extraordinary vivacity in all his motions and gestures. His face is one which cannot be understood at a single look; perhaps it requires, as it certainly invites, a long and an anxious scrutiny, before it lays itself open to the gazer. The features are neither handsome, nor even very defined in their outlines; and yet, the effect of the whole is as striking as any arrangement either of more noble or more marked features which ever came under my view.

A sharp, and at the same time very deep-toned voice, a very bad pronunciation, but accompanied with very little of the Scotch accent, a light and careless manner, exchanged now and then for an infinite variety of more earnest expression and address,—this is as much as I could carry away from my first visit to “the wee reekit deil,” as the Inferno of Altesidora has happily called him. I have since seen a great deal more of him, and have a great deal more to tell you; but my paper is done.

PROFESSORS PLAYFAIR AND LESLIE, AND  
MR. JEFFREY.

We were joined towards six o'clock by Professors P—— and L——, and one or two young advocates, who had walked out with them. Then came R—— M——, whom you remember at Balliol, a relation and intimate friend of J——'s. He and the celebrated orator Alison officiate together in one of the Episcopalian chapels in Edinburgh. Although we never knew each other at Oxford, yet we immediately recognized each other's old High-Street faces, and began to claim a sort of acquaintance on that score, as all Oxonian contemporaries, I believe, are accustomed to

do when they meet at a distance from *alma mater*. There were several other gentlemen, mostly of grave years; so that I was not a little astonished when somebody proposed a trial of strength in leaping. Nor was my astonishment at all diminished, when Mr. P—— began to throw off his coat and waistcoat, and to prepare himself for taking his part in the contest. When he did so much, I could have no apology, so I also stripped; and indeed the whole party did the same, except J—— (Jeffrey) alone, who was dressed in a short green jacket with scarcely any skirts, and therefore seemed to consider himself as already sufficiently “*accinctus ludo*.”

I used to be a good leaper in my day, witness the thousands of times I have beat you in the Port-Meadow and elsewhere; but I cut a very poor figure among these sinewy Caledonians. With the exception of L——, they all jumped wonderfully; and J—— was quite miraculous, considering his brevity of stride. But the greatest wonder of the whole was Mr. P——. He also is a short man, and he cannot be less than seventy; yet he took his stand with the assurance of an athletic, and positively beat every one of us,—the very best of us,—at least half a heel's breadth. I was quite thunderstruck, never having heard the least hint of his being so great a geometrician in this sense of the word. I was however, I must own, agreeably surprised by such a specimen of buoyant spirit and muscular strength in so venerable an old gentleman, and could not forbear from complimenting him on his revival of the ancient peripatetic ideas about the necessity of cultivating the external as well as the internal energies, and of mixing the activity of the practical with that of the contemplative life. He took what I said with great suavity; and, indeed, I have never seen a better specimen of that easy hilarity and good-humour which sits with so much gracefulness on an honoured old age. I wish I could give you a notion of his face. It is not marked by any very striking features; but, the unison of mildness of disposition and strength of intellect in the expression, is too remarkable to be unnoticed even by a casual observer. His habits of profound thought have drawn some deep lines about his mouth, and given him a custom of holding his lips very closely shut, otherwise I suspect the whole countenance would have been nothing more than an amiable one; although

although the light eyes have certainly at times something very piercing in their glance, even through his spectacles. The forehead is very finely developed, singularly broad across the temples, as, according to Spurzheim, all mathematical foreheads must be; but the beauty in that quarter is rather of an *ad clerum* character, or, as Pindar hath it,

— πρὸς τὸ παν  
ἑμπνεῦν χαρίζεται.

I however, who really in good earnest begin to believe a little of the system, could not help remarking this circumstance; and more particularly so, because I found Mr. L——'s skull to possess many of the same features; above all, that of the breadth between the temples.

This other great mathematician is a much younger man than P——; but his hair is already beginning to be grey. He is a very fat, heavy figure of a man, without much more appearance of strength than of activity; and yet, although a bad leaper, by no means a slothful-looking person neither. He has very large eyes, in shade not unlike Coleridge's, but without the least of the same mysterious depth of expression. Altogether, his face is one which at first sight you would pronounce to be merely a coarse one; but in which, once informed to whom it belongs, you are at no loss to discover a thousand marks of vigorous intellect and fancy too. Of this last quality, indeed, his eyes are at all times full to overflowing. In the midst of the sombre gravity of his usual look, there are always little flashes of enthusiasm breaking through the cloud, and, I think, adorning it; and, in this respect, he forms a striking contrast to the calm, tranquil uniformity of Mr. P——'s physiognomy and deportment. In thinking of this afterwards, I could not help recollecting a great many passages of richly-coloured writing in his scientific Essays in the Edinburgh Review, which I remember struck me, at the time I first read them, as being rather misplaced. But this, perhaps, may be merely the effect of the sterile way of writing employed by almost all the philosophers of these late times, to which we have now become so much accustomed, that we with difficulty approve of anything in a warmer taste introduced into such kinds of disquisition. They managed these things better in Greece.

By and bye we were summoned to the drawing-room, where we found se-

veral ladies with Mrs. J——. She, you know, is an American, and J—— went across the Atlantic for her a few years ago, while we were at war with her country. She is a very pleasing person; and they have one extremely interesting little girl. J—— made no alteration in his dress, but joined the ladies exactly in his morning costume,—the little green jacket aforesaid, grey worsted pantaloons, and Hessian boots, and a black silk handkerchief. How had Grub-street stared to see the prince of reviewers in such a garb! The dinner was excellent,—a glorious turbot and oyster-sauce for one thing; and (*sitesco referens*) there was no want of champagne: the very wine, by the way, which I should have guessed to be Jeffrey's favorite. It is impossible to conceive of him as being a lover of the genuine old black-strap, or even of the quiet balminess of Burgundy. The true reviewing diet is certainly champagne and devilled biscuit. Had there been any Blue-stockings lady present, she would have been sadly shocked with the material cast of the conversation during dinner: not a single word about

“The sweet new poem!”

Most of the company, though all men of literary habits, seemed to be as alive to the delights of the table, as if they had been “*let in*” (to use Dandie's phrase) by Monsieur Viard,—knowing in sauces, and delightfully reviewing every glass before they would suffer it to go down. It put me in mind of some lines of my friend W——. 'Tis a bookseller that speaks:

“The days of Tonson, Lintot, Curll, are over;  
'Tis now your author's time to live in clover.

The time's gone by when we our coaches kept,  
And authors were content with umbrellas;  
When pairs of epic bards in hay-lofts slept,  
Too glad if cantos two could fill two bellies:

When we could always dinner intercept,  
Unless the quire was covered—Happy fellows!

When first a champagne cork was taught to fly

At a reviewer's touch—our reign was by.”

The introduction of the claret and dessert made for a long time very little alteration in the subject-matter of the discourse; but, by degrees, the natural feelings and interests of the company did begin to shine through the cloud of *babillage*, and various matters, in which I was much better pleased to hear their opinions, were successively tabled, none of



of them, however, with the least appearance of what the Scotch very expressively call fore-thought. Every thing went on with the utmost possible facility; and, in general, with a very graceful kind of lightness. The whole tone of Mr. J——'s own conversation indeed was so pitched, that a proser, or a person at all ambitious, in the green-room phrase, to make an effect, would undoubtedly have found himself most grievously out of place. 'Amidst all this absence of "*preparation*," however, (for it is impossible to talk of conversation without using French words,)—I have never, I believe, heard so many ideas thrown out by any man in so short a space of time, and apparently with such entire negation of exertion. His conversation acted upon me like the first delightful hour after taking opium. The thoughts he scattered so readily about him—(his words, rapid, and wonderfully rapid, as they are, appearing to be continually panting after his conceptions)—his thoughts, I say, were at once so striking, and so just, that they took in succession entire possession of my imagination; and yet, with so felicitous a tact did he forbear from expressing any one of these too fully, that the reason was always kept in a pleasing kind of excitement, by the endeavour more thoroughly to examine their bearings. It is quite impossible to listen to him for a moment, without recalling all the best qualities of his composition; and yet, I suspect his conversation is calculated to leave one with even a higher idea of his mind, at least of its fertility, than the best of his writings. I have heard some men display more profoundness of reflection, and others a much greater command of the conversational picturesque; but I never before witnessed any thing to be compared with the blending together of apparently little consistent powers in the whole strain of his discourse.

Mr. P—— was the only other person whose conversation made any very striking impression on me; but indeed this might well be the case, without the least reflection on the talents of those present. This gentleman's mode of talking is just as different as possible from his friend's; it is quietly, simply, unaffectedly sensible, and that is all one thinks of it at first; but, by degrees, he says things which, although, at the moment he utters them, they do not produce any very startling effect, have the power to keep one musing on them

for a long time after he stops; so that, even if one were not told who he is, I believe one would have no difficulty in discovering him to be a great man. The gravity of his years, the sweet unassuming gentleness of his behaviour, and the calm way in which he gave utterance to thoughts about which almost any other person would have made so much hustle,—every thing about the appearance and manners of this serene and venerable old man, has left a feeling of quiet, respectful, and affectionate admiration upon my mind. I brought him into town in the shandrydan, and he has asked me to dine with him in the beginning of next week. I mean, before the time, to go and hear him deliver one of his lectures, and shall tell you what I think of it; although, considering the subject of which he treats, you may perhaps feel no great anxiety to hear my opinion.

MR. MACKENZIE.

The appearance of this fine old man had no tendency to dissipate the feelings I have just attempted to describe. I found him in his library, surrounded with a very large collection of books, few of them apparently new ones, seated in a high-backed easy chair, the wood-work carved very richly in the ancient French taste, and covered with black hair-cloth. On his head he wore a low cap of black velvet, like those which we see in almost all the pictures of Pope. But there needed none of these accessories to carry back the imagination. It is impossible that I should paint to you the full image of that face. The only one I ever saw which bore any resemblance to its character, was that of Warren Hastings: you well remember the effect it produced, when he appeared among all that magnificent assemblage, to take his degree, at the installation of Lord Grenville. In the countenance of M——, there is the same clear transparency of skin, the same freshness of complexion, in the midst of all the extenuation of old age. The wrinkles, too, are set close to each other, line upon line; not deep and bold, and rugged, like those of most old men, but equal and undivided over the whole surface, as if no touch but that of time had been there, and as if even he had traced the vestiges of his dominion with a sure indeed, but with a delicate and reverential finger. The lineaments have all the appearance of having been beautifully shaped; but the want of his teeth has thrown them out

of their natural relation to each other. The eyes alone have bid defiance to the approach of the adversary. Beneath bleached and hoary brows, and surrounded with innumerable wrinkles, they are still as tenderly, as brightly blue, as full of all the various eloquence and fire of passion, as they could have been in the most vivacious of his days, when they were lighted up with that purest and loftiest of all earthly flames,—the first secret triumph of conscious and conceiving genius.

By and bye Mr. M—— withdrew into his closet; and, having there thrown off his slippers, and exchanged his cap for a brown wig, he conducted me to the drawing-room. His family were already assembled ready to receive us: his wife, just as I should have wished to picture her, a graceful old lady, with much of the remains of beauty, clothed in an open gown of black silk, with deep flounces, and having a high cap, with the lace meeting below the chin; his eldest son, a man rather above my own standing, who is said to inherit much of the genius of his father, (although he has chosen to devote it to very different purposes—being very eminent among the advocates of the present time;) and some younger children. The only visitor besides myself was an old friend, and indeed contemporary, of M——, a Mr. R——, who was in his time at the head of the profession of the law in Scotland, but who has now lived for many years in retirement. I have never seen a finer specimen, both in appearance and manners, of the true gentleman of the last age. In his youth he must have been a perfect model of manly beauty; and, indeed, no painter could select a more exquisite subject for his art even now. His hair combed back from his forehead, and highly powdered, his long queue, his lace ruffles, his suit of snuff-coloured cloth, cut in the old liberal way, with long flaps to his waistcoat, his high-heeled shoes and rich steel buckles,—everything was perfectly in unison with the fashion of his age. The stately and measured decorum of his politeness, was such as could not well be displayed by any man dressed in our free-and-easy style; but in him it did not produce the least effect of stiffness or coldness. It was a delightful thing to see these two old men, who had rendered themselves so eminent in two so different walks of exertion, meeting together, in the quiet evening of their days, to enjoy in the company of each other every luxury which intellec-

tual communication can afford, heightened by the yet richer luxury of talking over the feelings of times to which they almost alone are not strangers.

DR. BREWSTER AND PROFESSOR JAMESON.

I spent an afternoon very pleasantly the other day at Dr. B——'s, the same who is so celebrated for his discoveries concerning light, his many inventions of optical instruments, and his masterly conduct of that best of all works of the kind, the Edinburgh Encyclopædia. Dr. B—— is still a young man, although one would scarcely suppose this to be the case, who, never having seen himself, should form his guess from considering what he has done. He cannot, I should think, be above forty, if so much. Like most of the scientific men in Edinburgh, the doctor is quite a man of the world in his manners: his countenance is a very mild and agreeable one, and in his eyes, in particular, there is a wonderful union of penetration and tenderness of expression. From his conversation, one would scarcely suspect that he had gone so deep into the hidden parts of science; for he displays a vast deal of information concerning the lighter kinds of literature, although, indeed, he does all this with a hesitative sort of manner, which probably belongs to him as a man of abstruse science.

There were several very pleasant men of the party, and the conversation, both during dinner and afterwards, was extremely lively and agreeable, as well as instructive; but, from the time we sat down, there was one face which attracted my attention in a way that I was quite at a loss to account for.

In the course of a few minutes I heard him addressed by the name of J——, and immediately conjectured that he might probably be the well-known Professor of Natural History, whose System of Mineralogy you have often seen on my table. This turned out to be the case; and, after a second bottle had somewhat diminished our ceremony, I had a pleasure in recalling to him the story of the murderous Jew, and so of commencing (for it could scarcely be called renewing) an acquaintance with one from whose works I had received so much information and advantage. After the doctor's company dispersed themselves, I walked along Prince's Street with Professor J——, and he invited me to call on him next day, and see his museum,—an invitation which you, who know my propensities, will not suspect me of declining. He also offered to  
shew



shew me the collection of mineralogy belonging to the University, of which I had heard a great deal. I went yesterday, and it is undoubtedly a very superb collection. It is of great value, and admirably arranged; and the external characters of minerals, particularly those derived from colours, are finely illustrated by an extensive series of the most valuable specimens, arranged according to the system made use of by Werner.

Professor J—— is chiefly known to the world as a mineralogist, and in this character he certainly stands entirely without a rival in his own country; and when we consider that his system of mineralogy has been adopted by a celebrated Frenchman, as the text-book to his own lectures in Paris, we may fairly conclude, from the preference shown by so competent a judge, that the knowledge and ability displayed in that work, render it at least equal to the most approved publications of the continental authors. But it is not his intimate acquaintance with mineralogy alone, which renders Mr. J—— so capable of doing honour to the chair which he holds. He is also greatly versed in zoology; and, what is of great importance in these times, seems much inclined to indulge in those more general and philosophic views of that science, which the study of nomenclature and classification has well nigh banished from the remembrance of most of his brethren in the south.

The professor delivers his lectures both during the winter and summer season; and he divides his course into five great branches: Meteorology—Hydrography—Mineralogy—a Sketch of the Philosophy of Botany, sufficient to enable his pupils to understand the relations which subsist between that science and a complete history of the inorganic parts of the globe—and lastly, Zoology.

MRS. GRANT.

I was at another party of somewhat the same kind last night, where, however, I had the satisfaction of seeing several more characters of some note, and therefore I repented not my going. Among others, I was introduced to Mrs. G——, of L——n, the author of the *Letters from the Mountains*, and other well-known works. Mrs. G—— is really a woman of great talents and acquirements, and might, without offence to any one, talk upon any subject she pleases. But, I assure you, any person that hopes to meet with a Blue-stocking, in the common sense of the term, in

this lady, will feel sadly disappointed. She is as plain, modest, and unassuming, as she could have been, had she never stepped from the village whose name she has rendered so celebrated. Instead of entering on any long common-place discussions, either about politics, or political economy, or any other of the hackneyed subjects of tea-table talk in Edinburgh, Mrs. G—— had the good sense to perceive, that a stranger, such as I was, came not to hear disquisitions, but to gather useful information; and she therefore directed her conversation entirely to the subject which she herself best understands; which, in all probability, she understands better than almost any one else, and which was precisely one of the subjects in regard to which I felt the greatest inclination to hear a sensible person speak, namely, the Highlands. She related, in a very simple but very graphic manner, a variety of little anecdotes and traits of character, with my recollections of which I shall always have a pleasure in connecting my recollections of herself. The sound and rational enjoyment I derived from my conversation with this excellent person, would indeed atone for much more than all the Blue-stocking sisterhood have ever been able to inflict upon my patience.

MR. JEFFREY AS A BARRISTER.

I have already described Mr. Jeffrey's appearance to you so often, that I need not say anything in addition here, although it is in the Parliament-house certainly that his features assume their most powerful expression, and that, upon the whole, the exterior of this remarkable man is seen to the greatest advantage. When not pleading in one or other of the courts, or before the Ordinary, he may commonly be seen standing in some corner, entertaining or entertained by such wit as suits the atmosphere of the place; but it is seldom that his occupations permit him to remain long in any such position. Ever and anon, his lively conversation is interrupted by some undertaker-faced solicitor, or perhaps by some hot, bustling, exquisite clerk, who comes to announce the opening of some new debate, at which the presence of Mr. Jeffrey is necessary; and away he darts like lightning to the indicated region, cleaving his way through the surrounding crowd with irresistible alacrity,—the more clumsy or more grave *doer*, that had set him in motion, vainly puffing and elbowing to keep close in his wake. A few seconds have scarcely elapsed, till you hear

hear the sharp, shrill, but deep-toned trumpet of his voice, lifting itself in some far-off corner high over the discordant Babel that intervenes,—period following period in one unbroken chain of sound, as if its links had had no beginning, and were to have no end.

I have told you, in a former letter, that his pronunciation is wretched: it is a mixture of provincial English with undignified Scotch, altogether snappish and offensive, and which would be quite sufficient to render the elocution of a more ordinary man utterly disgusting; but the flow of his eloquence is so overpoweringly rapid, so unweariedly energetic, so entirely unlike every other man's mode of speaking, that the pronunciation of the particular words is quite lost to one's view, in the midst of that continual effort which is required, in order to make the understanding, even the ear, of the listener, keep pace with the glowing velocity of the declamation. His words come more profusely than words ever came before, and yet it seems as if they were quite unable to follow, *passibus equis*, the still more amazing speed of his thought. You sit, while minute follows minute uncounted and unheeded, in a state of painful excitation, as if you were in a room over-lighted with gas, or close under the crash of a whole pealing orchestra.

This astonishing fluency and vivacity, if possessed by a person of very inferior talents, might for a little be sufficient to create an illusion in his favour; and I have heard that such things have been. But the more you can overcome the effect of Mr. Jeffrey's dazzling rapidity, and concentrate your attention on the ideas embodied with such supernatural facility, the greater will be your admiration. It is impossible to conceive the existence of a more fertile, teeming intellect. The flood of his illustration seems to be at all times rioting up to the very brim; yet he commands and restrains it with equal strength and skill; or, if it does boil over for a moment, it spreads such a richness all around, that it is impossible to find fault with its extravagance. Surely never was such a luxuriant "*copia fandi*" united with so much terseness of thought and brilliancy of imagination, and managed with so much unconscious, almost instinctive, ease. If he be not the most delightful, he is certainly by far the most wonderful, of speakers.

EDINBURGH BOOKSELLERS.

Till within these twenty years, I sup-

pose, there was no such thing in Edinburgh as the great trade of publishing. Now and then, some volume of sermons or so issued from the press of some Edinburgh typographer, and after lying for a year or two upon the counter of some of their booksellers, was dismissed into total oblivion, as it probably deserved to be. But, of all the great literary men of the last age who lived in Edinburgh, there was no one who ever thought of publishing his books in Edinburgh. The *trade* here never aspired to anything beyond forming a very humble appendage of understrappers to the *trade* of the Row. Even if the name of an Edinburgh bookseller did appear upon a title-page, that was only a compliment allowed him by the courtesy of the great London dealer, whose instrument and agent he was. Every thing was conducted by the northern bibliopoles in the same timid spirit of which this affords a specimen. The dullness of their atmosphere was never enlivened by one breath of daring. They were all petty retailers, inhabiting snug shops, and making a little money in the most tedious and uniform way imaginable. As for risking the little money they did make upon any bold adventure, which might have tripled the sum or swept it entirely away, this was a thing of which they had not the most remote conception. In short, in spite of Hume and Robertson, and the whole generation of lesser stars who clustered around those great luminaries, the spirit of literary adventure had never approached the bibliopoles of Edinburgh. They never dreamed of making fortunes for themselves, far less of being the means of bestowing fortunes upon others, by carrying on operations in the large and splendid style of mercantile enterprise.

The first manifestation of the new state of things, was no less an occurrence than the appearance of the first Number of the Edinburgh Review; a thing which, wherever it might have occurred, must have been a matter of sufficient importance, and which appearing here, was enough not only to change the style of bookselling, and the whole ideas of booksellers, but to produce almost as great a revolution in minds not so immediately interested in the result of the phenomenon.

Very shortly after the commencement of the Review, Mr. Walter Scott began to be an author; and, even without the benefit of its example, it is probable that he would have seen the propriety of adopting



adopting some similar course of procedure. However this might have been, ever since that time, the Edinburgh Reviewers and Mr. Walter Scott have between them furnished the most acceptable food for the reading public, both in and out of Scotland, but no doubt most exclusively and effectually in their own immediate neighbourhood; and both have always proceeded upon the principle of making the reading public pay handsomely for their gratification, through their fore-speakers, interpreters, and purveyors,—the booksellers.

The importance of the Whigs in Edinburgh and the Edinburgh Review, added to the great enterprize and extensive general business of Mr. Constable, have, as might have been expected, rendered the shop of this bookseller by far the most busy scene of the bibliopolic world of the north. It is situated in the High-street, in the midst of the Old Town, where, indeed, the greater part of the Edinburgh booksellers are still to be found lingering, as the majority of their London brethren also do, in the neighbourhood of the same old haunts to which long custom has attached their predilections. The bookseller is himself a good-looking man, apparently about forty, very fat in his person, but with a face with good lines, and a fine healthy complexion. He is one of the most jolly-looking members of the trade I ever saw; and moreover one of the most pleasing and courtly in his address. One thing that is remarkable about him, and indeed very distinguishingly so, is his total want of that sort of critical jabber of which most of his brethren are so profuse, and of which custom has rendered me rather fond than otherwise. Mr. Constable is too much of a bookseller, to think it at all necessary that he should appear to be knowing in the merits of books. His business is to publish books, and to sell them; he leaves the work of examining them before they are published, and criticizing them afterwards, to others who have more leisure on their hands than he has. One sees in a moment that he has reduced his business to a most strictly business-like regularity of system; and that, of this the usual cant of book-shop disquisition forms no part; like a great wholesale merchant, who does not by any means think it necessary to be the taster of his own wines. I am of opinion that this may, perhaps, be in the end the wisest course a great publisher can pursue. Here at least is one sufficiently striking instance of its success.

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If one be inclined, however, for an elegant shop, and abundance of gossip, it is only necessary to cross the street, and enter the shop of Messrs. Manners and Miller, the true lounging-place of the blue-stockings and literary beau-monde of the northern metropolis. Nothing indeed can be more inviting than the external appearance of this shop, or more amusing, if one is in the proper lounging humour, than the scene of elegant trifling which is exhibited within.

Mr. Miller is the successor of Provost Creech, in something of his wit and many of his stories, and in all his love of good cheer and good humour, and may certainly be looked upon as the favourite bibliopole of almost all but the writers of books. He ought, however, to look to his dignity; for I can perceive that he is likely to have, ere long, a dangerous rival in a more juvenile bookseller, whose shop is almost close to his own,—Mr. Peter Hill.

The only great lounging book-shop in the New Town of Edinburgh, is Mr. Blackwood's. The prejudice in favour of sticking by the Old Town was so strong among the gentlemen of the trade, that, when this bookseller intimated, a few years ago, his purpose of removing to the New, his ruin was immediately prophesied by not a few of his sagacious brethren. He persisted however in his intentions, and speedily took possession of a large and airy suite of rooms in Prince's-street, which had formerly been occupied by a notable confectioner, and whose threshold was therefore familiar enough to all the frequenters of that superb promenade. There it was that this enterprizing bibliopole hoisted his standard, and prepared at once for action.

#### VISIT TO WALTER SCOTT.

I did not see Mr. S—, however, immediately on my arrival; he had gone out, with all his family, to shew the abbey of Melrose to the Count von B— and some other visitors. I was somewhat dusty in my apparel, (for the shandrydan had moved in clouds half the journey,) so I took the opportunity of making my toilet, and had not quite completed it, when I heard the trampling of their horses' feet beneath the window. But in a short time, having finished my adonization, I descended, and was conducted to Mr. S—, whom I found by himself in his library. Nothing could be kinder than his reception of me; and so simple and unassuming are his manners, that I was quite surprised, after a few minutes had elapsed, to find myself already al-

most at home in the company of one whose presence I had approached with feelings so very different from those with which a man of my age and experience is accustomed to meet ordinary strangers.

There was a large party at dinner, for the house was full of company, and much very amusing and delightful conversation passed on every side around me; but you will not wonder that I found comparatively little leisure either to hear or see much of anything besides my host. And as to his person, in the first place, that was almost perfectly new to me, although I must have seen, I should suppose, some dozens of engravings of him before I ever came to Scotland. Never was any physiognomy treated with more scanty justice by the portrait-painters; and yet, after all, I must confess that the physiognomy is of a kind that scarcely falls within the limits of their art. I have never seen any face which disappointed me less than this, after I had become acquainted with it fully; yet, at the first glance, I certainly saw less than, but for the vile prints, I should have looked for; and I can easily believe that the feelings of the uninitiated, the uncranioscopical observer, might be little different from those of pure disappointment. It is not that there is deficiency of expression in any part of Mr. S——'s face, but the expression which is most prominent is not of the kind which one who had known his works, and had heard nothing about his appearance, would be inclined to expect. The common language of his features expresses all manner of discernment and acuteness of intellect, and the utmost nerve and decision of character. He smiles frequently; and I never saw any smile which tells so eloquently the union of broad good-humour with the keenest perception of the ridiculous: but all this would scarcely be enough to satisfy one in the physiognomy of W—— S——.

Himself temperate in the extreme, (some late ill health has made it necessary he should be so,) he sent round his claret more speedily than even I could have wished—(you see I am determined to blunt the edge of all your sarcasms)—and I assure you we were all too well employed to think of measuring our bumpers. Do not suppose, however, that there is anything like display or formal leading in Mr. S——'s conversation. On the contrary, every body seemed to speak the more that he was there to hear; and his presence seemed to be enough to make everybody speak delightfully, as if

it had been that some princely musician had tuned all the strings, and, even under the sway of more vulgar fingers, they could not choose but discourse excellent music. His conversation, besides, is for the most part of such a kind, that all can take a lively part in it, although indeed none that I ever met with can equal himself. It does not appear as if he ever could be at a loss for a single moment for some new supply of that which constitutes its chief peculiarity and its chief charm; the most keen perception, the most tenacious memory, and the most brilliant imagination, having been at work throughout the whole of his busy life, in filling his mind with a store of individual traits and anecdotes, serious and comic, individual and national, such as it is probable no man ever before possessed; and such, still more certainly as, no man of great original power ever before possessed, in subservience to the purposes of inventive genius. A youth spent in wandering among the hills and valleys of his country, during which he became intensely familiar with all the lore of those grey-haired shepherds, among whom the traditions of warlike as well as of peaceful times find their securest dwelling-place; or, in more equal converse with the relics of that old school of Scottish cavaliers, whose faith had nerved the arms of so many of his own race and kindred: such a boyhood and such a youth laid the foundation, and established the earliest and most lasting sympathies of a mind, which was destined, in after years, to erect upon this foundation, and improve upon these sympathies, in a way of which his young and thirsting spirit could have then contemplated but little. Through his manhood of active and honoured, and now for many years of glorious, exertion, he has always lived in the world, and among the men of the world, partaking in all the pleasures and duties of society as fully as any of those who had nothing but such pleasures and such duties to attend to. Uniting, as never before they were united, the habits of an indefatigable student with those of an indefatigable observer, and doing all this with the easy and careless grace of one who is doing so, not to task, but, to gratify his inclination and his nature, is it to be wondered that the riches of his various acquisitions should furnish a never-failing source of admiration even to those who have known him longest, and who know him best?

Next morning I got up pretty early, and walked for at least two hours before breakfast



breakfast through the extensive young woods with which Mr. S—— has already clothed the banks of the Tweed, in every direction about his mansion. Nothing can be more soft and beautiful than the whole of the surrounding scenery: there is scarcely a single house to be seen; and, excepting on the rich, low lands, close to the river, the country seems to be almost entirely in the hands of the shepherds.

After a breakfast *a la fourchette*, served up in the true style of old Scottish luxury, which a certain celebrated novelist seems to take a particular pleasure in describing; a breakfast, namely, in which tea, coffee, chocolate, toast, and sweetmeats, officiated as little better than ornamental outworks to more solid and imposing fortifications of mutton-ham, hung-beef, and salmon killed over-night in the same spear and torch-light method of which Dandie Dinmont was so accomplished a master. After doing all manner of justice to this interesting meal, I spent an hour with Mr. S—— in his library, or rather in his closet; for, though its walls are quite covered with books, I believe the far more valuable part of his library is in Edinburgh.

We then mounted our horses, a numerous cavalcade, and rode to one of the three summits of the Eildon-hill, which rises out of the plain a little way behind A——d, and forms, in almost every point of view, a glorious back-ground to its towers and rising woods. We passed, before leaving Mr. S——'s territories, a deep dingle, quite covered with all manner of wild bushes, through which a little streamlet far below could, for the most part, be rather heard than seen.— Mr. S—— paused at the rustic bridge which led us over this ravine, and told me that I was treading on classical ground; that here was the *Huntly Burn*, by whose side Thomas the Rhymer of old saw the Queen of Faery riding in her glory; and called to this hour by the shepherds, from that very circumstance, the *Bogle* or *Goblin Burn*.

From this we passed right up the hill, the ponies here being as perfectly independent as our own of turnpike-ways, and as scornful of perpendicular ascents. I was not a little surprised, however, with Mr. S——'s horsemanship; for, in spite of the lameness in one of his legs, he manages his steed with the most complete mastery, and seems to be as much at home in the saddle as any of his own rough-riding Deloraines or Lochinvars could have been. He is indeed a very

strong man in all the rest of his frame; the breadth and massiness of his iron muscles being evidently cast in the same mould with those of the old "Wats of Harden" and "bould Rutherfordds that were sow stout."

In Edinburgh, two very handsome new chapels have of late years been erected by the Episcopalians, and the clergymen who officiate in them possess faculties eminently calculated for extending the reputation of their church. Dr. Sandford, the Bishop of the Diocese, preaches regularly in the one, and the minister of the other is no less a person than Mr. Alison, the celebrated author of the *Essays on Taste*, and of those exquisite Sermons which I have so often heard you speak of in terms of rapture.

Mr. Alison has a much larger chapel, and a more numerous congregation, and he possesses, no doubt, much more largely the qualifications of a popular orator. He has also about him a certain pensiveness of aspect, which I should almost suspect to have been inherited from the afflicted priests of this church of the preceding generation. He has a noble serenity of countenance, however, which is not disturbed, but improved, by its tinge of melancholy; large grey eyes, beaming with gentle lambent fire, and set dark and hollow in the head, like those which Rembrandt used to draw, lips full of delicacy and composure, and a tall pale forehead, sprinkled with a few thin, grey, monastic ringlets. His voice harmonizes perfectly with this exterior—clear, calm, mellow, like that far-off mournful melody, with which the great poet of Italy has broken the repose of his autumnal evening:

".....Squilla di lontano  
Che paga il giorno panger che si muore."

In spite of his accent, which has a good deal of his country in it, I have never heard any man read the service of our church in so fine and impressive a style as Mr. Alison. The grave antique majesty of those inimitable prayers, acquiring new beauty and sublimity as they passed through his lips, could not fail to refresh and elevate my mind, after I had been wearied with the loose and extemporaneous, and not unfrequently, as I thought, irreverent, supplications of the presbyterian divines. In his preaching the effect of his voice is no less striking; and indeed, much as you have read and admired his sermons, I am sure you would confess, after once hearing him, that they cannot produce their full effect

effect without the accompaniment of that delightful music. Hereafter, in reading them, I shall always have the memory of that music ringing faintly in my ears—and recall, with every grand and every gentle close, the image of that serene and solemn countenance, which Nature designed to be the best commentary on the meanings of Alison.

CHALMERS THE PREACHER.

Yesterday being Sunday, I threw myself into the midst of one of these overwhelming streams, and allowed myself to float on its swelling waves to the church of the most celebrated preacher in this place; or rather, I should say, the most celebrated preacher of the day in the whole of Scotland—Dr. Chalmers. I had heard so much of this remarkable man in Edinburgh, that my curiosity in regard to him had been wound-up to a high pitch, even before I found myself in the midst of this population, to which his extraordinary character and genius furnish by far the greatest object of interest and attention. I had received a letter of introduction to him from Mr. J——,—(for the critic and he are great friends)—so I called at his house in a day or two after my arrival in Glasgow, but he had gone to visit his friends in a parish of which he was formerly minister, in the county of Fife, so that I was for the time disappointed. My landlady, however, who is one of his admirers, had heard of his return the evening before, and she took care to communicate this piece of intelligence to me at breakfast. I was very happy in receiving it, and determined to go immediately; upon which, Mrs. Jardine requested me to accept the loan of her own best psalm-book, and her daughter, Miss Currie, (a very comely young lady,) was so good as to show me the way to her pew in the church. Such, I presume, is the intense interest attached to this preacher, that a hotel in Glasgow could not pretend to be complete in all its establishment, without having attached to it a spacious and convenient pew in this church, for the accommodation of its visitors. As for trusting, as in other churches, to finding somewhere a seat unappropriated, this is a thing which will by no means do for a stranger who has set his heart upon hearing a sermon of Dr. Chalmers'.

You have read his Sermons; and therefore I need not say anything about the subject and style of the one I heard, be-

cause it was in all respects very similar to those which have been printed. But, of all human compositions, there is none surely which loses so much as a sermon does, when it is made to address itself to the eye of a solitary student in his closet—and not to the thrilling ears of a mighty mingled congregation, through the very voice which Nature has enriched with notes more expressive than words can ever be, of the meanings and feelings of its author. Neither, perhaps, did the world ever possess any orator, whose minutest peculiarities of gesture and voice have more power in increasing the effect of what he says—whose delivery, in other words, is the first, and the second, and the third, excellence of his oratory, more truly than is that of Dr. Chalmers. And yet, were the spirit of the man less gifted than it is, there is no question these, his lesser peculiarities, would never have been numbered among his points of excellence. His voice is neither strong nor melodious. His gestures are neither easy nor graceful; but, on the contrary, extremely rude and awkward: his pronunciation is not only broadly national, but broadly provincial—distorting almost every word he utters into some barbarous novelty, which, had his hearer leisure to think of such things, might be productive of an effect at once ludicrous and offensive in a singular degree.

But of a truth, these are things which no listener *can* attend to while this great preacher stands before him, armed with all the weapons of the most commanding eloquence, and swaying all around him with its imperial rule. At first, indeed, there is nothing to make one suspect what riches are in store. He commences in a low, drawling key, which has not even the merit of being solemn, and advances from sentence to sentence, and from paragraph to paragraph, while you seek in vain to catch a single echo, that gives promise of that which is to come. There is, on the contrary, an appearance of constraint about him, that affects and distresses you: you are afraid that his breast is weak, and that even the slight exertion he makes, may be too much for it. But then, with what tenfold richness does this dim preliminary curtain make the glories of his eloquence to shine forth, when the heated spirit at length shakes from its chill confining fetters, and bursts out, elate and rejoicing, in the full splendour of its disimprisoned wings!



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